

JULIA AUGUSTA

IMAGES OF ROME'S FIRST EMPRESS ON COINS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Tracene Harvey

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JULIA AUGUSTA

Julia Augusta examines the socio-political impact of coin images of Augustus's wife, Livia, within the broader context of her image in other visual media and reveals the detailed visual language that was developed for the promotion of Livia as the predominant female in the Roman imperial family.

The book provides the most comprehensive examination of all extant coins of Livia to date, and provides one of the first studies on the images on Roman coins as gender-infused designs, which created a visual dialogue regarding Livia's power and gender-roles in relation to those of male members of the imperial family. While the appearance of Roman women on coins was not entirely revolutionary, having roughly coincided with the introduction of images of powerful Roman statesmen to coins in the late 40s BCE, the degree to which Livia came to be commemorated on coins in the provinces and in Rome was unprecedented. This volume provides unique insights into the impact of these representations of Livia, both on coins and in other visual media.

Julia Augusta: Images of Rome's First Empress on the Coins of the Roman Empire will be of great interest to students of women and imperial imagery in the Roman Empire, as well as the importance of visual representation and Roman imperial ideology.

Tracene Harvey currently serves as Director and Curator of the Museum of Antiquities at the University of Saskatchewan, Canada. She also serves as a lecturer in the Classical, Medieval and Renaissance Studies programme at the University. Her research covers primarily ancient Greek and Roman coins, with emphasis on the study of Roman empresses on coins of the early Roman Empire. She also has pursued the study of the coins of ancient Thessaly as part of the research team of the archaeological project at the Kastro of Kallithea in Thessaly, Greece since 2006.



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Tracene Harvey

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DEDICATION

*To esteemed colleagues and students of Classical, Medieval and Renaissance
Studies, University of Saskatchewan*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book has been many years in the making, and remaking if you will, and is a substantial revision of my dissertation on the coins of the Roman empress Livia that I completed for my PhD in Classical Archaeology at the University of Alberta. Deciding on the topic of Livia's coins and their significance within the wider context of the visual media programme that was created for her was very much an easy one, having just completed my Master's thesis on the coinage of the deified Augustus. As I progressed in my research on Livia's coins, having become immersed in the material while attending the American Numismatic Society's graduate student seminar in 2004, I discovered how complex these coin images were, the corresponding messages they conveyed and the significant role they played in the promotion of Livia as the predominant female in the Roman imperial family. These coin images, whose visual elements were rooted in Hellenistic Greek and Roman Republican precursors, were customized to portray Livia in traditional gender roles as wife and mother, but also in new ones as priestess of the imperial cult of the deified Augustus and even as a goddess herself. Such images not only promoted Livia as the model elite Roman woman of the imperial family and the imperial realm, but they also symbolized the dynastic, socio-political and religious ideologies of the Julio-Claudian regime. Perhaps most importantly, these images were constructed using a gender-infused, syntactically structured iconography – a subject that was noted by Natalie Boymel-Kampen in her article "Between Public and Private: Women as Historical Subjects in Roman Art" (1991), and which very much became an inspiration for this work.

While completing my doctoral dissertation at the University of Alberta in the Department of History and Classics, I received much guidance and support, which aided me in the successful completion of my dissertation, and now this manuscript. I want to express my most sincere gratitude to my PhD supervisor, Professor Steven Hijmans, for his advice, knowledge and the many conversations on visual communication in Roman art, which very much informs this work. I am especially grateful to the members of my dissertation examining committee, Professors Jeremy Rossiter and Selena Stewart from the University of Alberta, as well as Professor Lisa Hughes from the University of Calgary, whose feedback

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My dissertation research was supported by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Doctoral Fellowship, a Queen Elizabeth II Graduate Fellowship awarded by the Province of Alberta, as well as the Walter H. Johns Memorial Fellowship in Classics. Without this support, I would not have been able to travel and conduct research in the coin cabinets of the British Museum, the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the American Numismatic Society. As a result, I have had the good fortune of seeing the majority of the Livia coins that I discuss in this work, and I am indebted to the curators who assisted me during these research visits. I wish to extend thanks to Dr. Peter van Alfen and Dr. Michel Amandry for their instruction and advice during the 2004 graduate seminar at the American Numismatic Society and for the encouraging conversations we have had since then on the few occasions when our paths have crossed.

This manuscript would not have arrived at this point of publication without the invaluable feedback I have received from my colleagues who have read various drafts of my chapters. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Nathan T. Elkins, Associate Professor in Art History at the University of Baylor and fellow student at the 2004 graduate seminar in New York, as well as Dr. Angela Kalinowski, Associate Professor in History at the University of Saskatchewan, for reading several of my chapters. I also wish to thank Karin S. Tate for reading and giving advice on my second chapter, and to Dr. Alison Jeppesen-Wigglesworth for her feedback on the introductory chapters of the book. This work would also not be complete without the artwork of Carrie Allen. I will forever be in awe of your work Carrie, and I am so pleased your artistic talents will be forever preserved in the detailed illustrations of coins contained herein. I am also exceedingly grateful to Mr. Terence Cheesman of Edmonton for sharing with me the Livia coins in his collections, and for the many conversations we have had on all things numismatic!

Over the course of the transformation of my work from dissertation to book I have been serving as the director and curator of the Museum of Antiquities at the University of Saskatchewan. I would not have been able to attain this most important goal in my academic career without the support, advice and encouragement of colleagues and students of both Classical, Medieval and Renaissance Studies and the Department of History at the University of Saskatchewan. Most importantly, heart-felt thanks go to the many student staff and volunteers of the Museum of Antiquities, in particular Sarah Johnston, Courtney Tuck-Goetz, Helanna Gessner, Mikayla Epp and Jack Hase, whose kindness and

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encouragement sustained me over the past few years. Last but not least, I will be eternally grateful for the love and encouragement I have received from my dearest family and closest friends over the course of my academic career, including Catherine Gunderson, who first gave me the opportunity to study ancient Greek and Roman coins while I was serving as an undergraduate student volunteer at the Museum of Antiquities way back in 1995. You have been a great mentor and inspiration to me. BFF.

Tracene Harvey

INTRODUCTION

Octavian, the future Roman emperor Augustus (r. 27 BCE–14 CE), was already four years into his second marriage when he encountered his future wife Livia for the first time in 39 BCE. Where their meeting took place is unclear, but he was apparently so smitten with her, despite the 21-year-old Livia being married to Tiberius Claudius Nero and being six months pregnant with her second child Drusus (her first son, the future emperor Tiberius, was already two years old). According to the ancient historian Cassius Dio, the beginnings of Octavian's relationship with Livia may have occurred at a celebration Octavian held to mark the shaving of his beard of mourning for Caesar. He kept himself clean shaven thereafter because he wanted to look his best for Livia with whom he was falling in love.¹ Soon after their meeting, Octavian divorced his own wife Scribonia, with whom he had a young daughter Julia, and he arranged Livia's divorce so that he could marry her promptly. Both ancient writers Suetonius and Cassius Dio indicate that Tiberius Claudius Nero willingly divorced his wife at Octavian's request, even giving Livia away at the ceremony as a father would.² Octavian and Livia were married on January 17, 38 BCE.

The marriage to Livia was not simply a matter of love for Octavian, but it was also a calculated political power play given that Livia came from a prestigious family. Livia Drusilla was born January 30, 58 BCE into the distinguished patrician *gens Claudia*, whose male members boasted numerous consulships, several dictatorships, as well as a series of triumphs and ovations over the course of the Republic.³ Her father M. Livius Drusus Claudianus was born a Claudian but had been adopted into the Livian family, most likely by M. Livius Drusus, a tribune of the plebs who had become popular with Italian communities but despised by the Roman Senate when he moved to enfranchise all Italians living south of the River Po.⁴ Livia's mother Alfidia was from a wealthy, but less distinguished family from the country town of Fundi. Livia's socio-political importance to Octavian's imperial agenda was not immediately obvious nor promoted, given Octavian's sister Octavia's prominence at the centre of the political rivalry that unfolded between Octavian and Marc Antony during the Second Triumvirate. Octavia was certainly the pawn that sealed the deal at Brundisium in 40 BCE when she was promised in marriage by her brother to Antony, and she had played a significant role in the

negotiations at Tarentum in 37 BCE which renewed relations between the two triumvirs. And after Antony divorced her, and he and Cleopatra were brought down by Octavian, Octavia proved herself to be the epitome of motherhood by not only raising her own children, but also those of Antony by Cleopatra.⁵ Octavia obtained an almost heroine-like status on account of her devotion to her family and the state.

Just as Octavia was seen as a binding link and symbol of familial and political stability between the men in power under the Second Triumvirate, Livia would also become such a symbol and even a figure of social and political influence in her own right under the sole rule of the first Roman emperor Augustus and his successor Tiberius. The men holding power saw the advantages of promoting their female relatives as symbols of power, prosperity and stability of the ruling regime and used a variety of strategies to achieve such goals from granting special political concessions such as *sacrosanctitas*, which will be discussed later, to the setting up of honourific statues. But coins would become an important means of conveying these ideological messages about imperial women starting primarily with the promotion of Octavia on coins under Antony in the Roman provinces, with Livia following but with a much more prolific place on provincial coins under the reign of her husband, the emperor Augustus. The elevation of imperial women on coins was rooted in the transition from Roman Republic to Roman Empire under Augustus, characterized by the reinterpretation and redefinition of many Roman social, political and religious traditions and ideals. One important aspect of these changes was the notable shift in the public persona of elite women, especially those who were related to men at the centre of political power, namely the emperor and his successors.⁶ During most of the Republic, elite Roman women had been portrayed primarily in their domestic roles as wives, mothers and daughters and almost solely within the confines of funerary and religious art.⁷ But under the late Republic and the new Augustan principate, female family members became intimately tied to the public domain when the social institution of the Roman family, in particular the ruling imperial family, came to symbolize the power, prosperity and perpetuation of the state.⁸ Visual media, including coins and sculpture, played a vital role in the visualization and communication of the ideologies surrounding the changing roles of imperial women. The public image of Livia (58 BCE–29 CE), wife of the first emperor Augustus and mother of his successor Tiberius, in many ways was emblematic of these shifts.⁹

The focus of this book is the role of coins in the visual communication of the public persona of Livia and how coins related the gender-infused socio-political and religious roles inherent in Livia's position as dominant female in the Augustan and Tiberian Roman imperial regime. Studies concerning gender in Roman art have been quite extensive in recent years with the focus being primarily on the sculptural medium and how elements such as dress, hairstyle, physiognomic features, pose and gestures provide considerable information about the construction of gender and gender roles in society.¹⁰ That the images on coins were laden with gender related iconography and served as carriers of messages pertaining to gender roles has been acknowledged but not explored. As Kampen stated: "No thorough

study of gender iconography has been done for Roman coins, but it is clear even from superficial study that the coins use women to express the programmatic concerns of the state and emperor”.¹¹ The course of this book will reveal that the images presented through coins, like sculpture, were rooted in gendered designs, using an iconographic repertoire that not only communicated the gender-specific social roles of women, but also spoke volumes concerning the ideologies of power conceived through the minds of the men who issued them.

My research analyzes how the images on coins promoted and portrayed Livia within the broader context of Livia’s visual portrayal in other media such as sculpture, cameos and intaglios. Of all these different types of visual media bearing images of Livia, coins have received the least attention. Given the substantial number of Roman and provincial coins with images of Livia, which are comparable to the numbers of depictions of Livia in other media combined, there is a considerable gap in the scholarship on the artistic representation of Livia. This book takes a first look at the entire body of coins that refer to Livia in relation to her representation in other visual media, aims to significantly reduce that gap and perhaps deepen our understanding of Livia, who in fame and influence, became the iconic Roman empress and role model for future imperial women.

Impressions of Livia in the literary context

In order to understand the significance of the images and messages conveyed by coins regarding Livia, it is important first to consider the Livia we know from literary sources and how the impressions of Livia that these convey both echo and contrast the impressions given of Livia from coins. The literary sources from Dio to Suetonius to Ovid present Livia as influential, power hungry, sinister and murderous, devoted wife and mother, as well as divine figure. Whether the ancient authors paint a positive or negative picture of Livia, they are consistent in their portrayal of her as a powerful and influential figure in her own right.

That Livia was destined to be the mother of emperors and of the subjects of empire was reported in a famous omen as told by Pliny the Elder, Dio and Suetonius.¹² Soon after Livia had married Octavian, an eagle carrying a white hen with a sprig of laurel in its beak dropped the hen unharmed into Livia’s lap. Livia used this sprig to plant the laurel tree that would be used to produce the crowns of future Julio-Claudian triumphators, but Livia’s association with the laurel marked her as a key player in the perpetuation of the newly founded imperial dynasty. Not only would Julio-Claudian emperors and other male imperial family members be seen wearing the laurel crown on coins and in sculpture, but Livia was also seen in a couple of examples of sculpture and coins wearing this famous symbol of imperial power, which will be discussed later in this book. Livia’s place of prominence would continue to grow throughout the reigns of Augustus and her son Tiberius.

Despite Livia’s status as *materfamilias*, mother and female head of the imperial family, by 17 BCE Augustus’s daughter Julia and her second husband Agrippa had produced two male heirs for Augustus, while her own union with

Augustus had produced no children. Yet, Livia's power and influence seemed to far outweigh that of her stepdaughter. According to Dio, Livia had some noteworthy sway over Augustus and his policies. One particular example is the case of Augustus's handling of the conspiracy against him led by Cornelius Cinna, grandson of Pompey, where he apparently took Livia's advice and forgave the man.¹³ Livia has also been connected to a number of significant building projects in Rome including the Aedes Concordiae and Porticus Liviae (7 BCE), a macellum Liviae and the restoration of temples including the Temple of Bona Dea Subsaxana and the Temple of Fortuna Muliebris.¹⁴ In addition, she figured prominently on a key monument commissioned by the Senate and Roman People in honour of Augustus and the imperial family: the Ara Pacis Augustae dedicated in 9 BCE. On this monument Livia and Augustus were not only presented as the mother and father of the imperial family, but also mother and father of the Roman state.¹⁵ The monument was dedicated on Livia's birthday, January 30 of that year.

Livia's political influence, status and public image did not wane with the death of Augustus in 14 CE but seemed to increase significantly when her son Tiberius became emperor. Upon Augustus's death and in accordance with his will, Livia was adopted into the *gens Iulia* and given the name "Iulia Augusta". She also inherited one-third of Augustus's estate, which was more than was allowed by law.¹⁶ Barrett argues that these measures taken by Augustus prior to his death were intended not only to elevate Livia's status by naming her a Julian, but would also further consolidate Tiberius's position as successor to the imperial throne.¹⁷ According to Tacitus, the Senate even suggested that Tiberius be referred to as the "son of Julia" as part of his formal titles, which Tiberius deemed inappropriate as it gave Livia an elevated status that potentially could overshadow his own. The Senate also wished to give her the honourific title *mater patriae* (mother of the country), which Tiberius also refused to allow.¹⁸ However, this denial did not prevent the city of Lepcis Magna in North Africa from issuing coins referring to Livia as such.¹⁹ Apparently, the Senate's wish to elevate Livia to a status beyond what was customary, and Livia's desire to aspire to it, did not sit well with Tiberius and was the source of much tension between mother and son even up until Livia's death.²⁰ Yet, he did recognize the benefit of acknowledging her status as widow of the former emperor and mother of the new one, as well as the Senate's appeal to see Livia in a more formal and official public role when he allowed her to be appointed priestess of the deified Augustus.²¹ Shortly after his death, Augustus was consecrated *Divus Augustus* and granted a priesthood as was fitting a state god and his cult. In addition, Livia and Tiberius together commissioned a temple for his worship.²²

In 22 CE Livia, around age 80, became gravely ill.²³ Prayers invoking Livia's speedy recovery were decreed and Tiberius returned to Rome from Campania in case his mother should expire.²⁴ Upon Livia's recovery, the Senate decreed offerings and games of thanksgiving. Simultaneously, coins were issued bearing Livia's portrait and referring to her as *Salus Augusta*, the personification of well-being.²⁵ These coins were apparently the first ones issued by the imperial

mint of Rome to present a portrait of Livia. Coins issued in various provincial cities bear a strikingly similar portrait,²⁶ the significance of which will be discussed in Chapter 3. Livia's image and popularity continued to her death in 29 CE at the age of 86.

Tiberius honoured his mother with a simple funeral, although he himself was not in attendance. Livia's great-grandson and future emperor, Caligula, gave the funeral oration after which Livia's remains were placed in the Mausoleum of Augustus.²⁷ Both Dio and Suetonius claim that Tiberius did not execute Livia's will and did not allow an arch voted by the Senate to be built in her honour. The Senate even proposed divine honours for her, which Tiberius denied as well.²⁸ Tiberius's position regarding his mother at the time of her death may have been due to the tensions that existed between them, but it is likely a continuation of Tiberius's desire to keep exceptional honours for his mother in check, as he had done since the beginning of his reign.

Intriguingly, some ancient literary sources paint Livia in a rather favourable light, while others describe her as a more sinister character. The Roman poet Ovid (43 BCE–17 CE), who was exiled in 8 CE for reasons that are still debated amongst scholars, heaped flattery upon Livia in his writings in hopes of being recalled to Rome.²⁹ Even before his exile he praised her in his *Fasti*, prophesying her deification³⁰ and stating that she alone was worthy to share the couch of Jove.³¹ While in exile he referred to her as *femina princeps*³² and even went so far as to state that she was equal to Augustus.³³ The historian Velleius Paterculus (c. 19 BCE–31 CE) mentioned that Livia's son Tiberius grieved over the death of his mother, who was first among women and whose conduct and influence was more akin to the gods than man.³⁴ As will be shown, both coins and statues promoted Livia as someone with divine associations to key goddesses such as Venus and Juno even before her death and eventual deification.

Later historians of ancient Rome make a number of references to Livia in their writings, and while many of them attest to Livia's power and influence, they tend to portray Livia rather negatively as ambitious, power hungry and even murderous. The Roman historian Tacitus (56–118 CE) demonstrated in his writings a general hostility towards ambitious women of the imperial family, in particular those who were placed in positions of social power and then used them for political ends.³⁵ He described Livia as having a female lack of control and indicated that she may have been involved in the deaths of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Agrippa Postumus and even Augustus himself.³⁶ When speaking of her death, he acknowledged that she was of the highest nobility because of her familial ties, both Claudian and Julian, and noted her adherence to traditional values.³⁷ The biographer Suetonius (c. 70–130 CE) mentioned Livia intermittently in the biographies of Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Galba and Otho. He noted such things as Livia's wifely devotion in making Augustus's clothes³⁸ and Tiberius's anger towards his mother's demands to share power.³⁹ He also highlighted that the emperor Caligula referred to Livia, his great-grandmother, as *Ulixes stolatus* (Ulysses in a stola) no doubt as a

reference to Livia's cunning.⁴⁰ The historian Cassius Dio (c. 164–after 229 CE) mentioned Livia quite frequently in his writings on the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. He too sheds considerable light on Livia's power and influence and at times echoes Tacitus in bringing to bear Livia's purported murderous inclinations. He stated that she was suspected in the deaths of Marcellus, Gaius and Lucius, as well as Augustus,⁴¹ but also noted that she exercised influence over Augustus by playing the role of the proper Roman wife.⁴²

While the ancient literary sources provide a mixed bag of praise, deprecation and rumour in their representation of Livia, the artistic portrayal of Livia, although highly idealized, paints a very different picture. As will be shown, the iconographic repertoire employed in visual representations of Livia was infused with multiple connotations that enabled the viewer to associate these images with Livia's roles as wife and mother, priestess of the deified Augustus and eventually as a divine figure herself in the provinces and under the reign of Claudius when she was formally deified under the auspices of the Senate and People of Rome at the emperor's insistence in 42 CE.

Setting the stage for the visual representation of Livia

As men competed for political power and supremacy in Rome, their wives and daughters, distinguished because of their familial heritage, good morals and chastity, brought them distinction and status as well. During the Second Triumvirate, both Marc Antony and Octavian began campaigns of vigorous self-promotion at which point they began to experiment with the public relations value of their female relatives. Since the death of Caesar in 44 BCE and the appearance of his portrait on coins of Rome that same year, there was an increase in the number of coins bearing the portraits of both Octavian and Antony. Not only did portraits of the triumvirs make a prominent appearance on coins of Rome and the provinces but those of women, in particular Antony's wives, Fulvia followed by Octavia, emerged on coins.⁴³ The coins depicting Fulvia appeared sometime between 43–40 BCE, while those of Octavia began around 39 BCE. These female portraits did not appear on coins issued in Rome, but rather on coins issued by mints in provincial cities and traveling with Antony's armies. While coins issued in the cities of the Hellenistic Greek East had displayed portraits of royal women in the past, these portraits of Roman women were anomalies and significant indicators of the changing roles, political influence and social status of such women, particularly those who were intimately linked to men governing the Roman Empire.

The changing status of women like Octavia, and eventually Livia, was reflected in various unprecedented honours and privileges which were bestowed upon them in Rome only a few years after the coins depicting Octavia made their debut. Cassius Dio reports that in 35 BCE, upon Octavian's return to Rome from campaigns in Illyria, he arranged for Octavia and Livia to be granted *sacrosanctitas*, a special consideration originally granted to tribunes of the plebs for security and protection against verbal insult. At the same time, they were granted freedom

from *tutela*, which gave them the right to administer their own estates without a male guardian.⁴⁴ This move by Octavian was an extraordinary one given that no Roman woman, with the exception of Vestal Virgins, had ever been given these combined privileges before. These priestesses of Rome's most sacred cult already enjoyed *sanctitas*, a revered status of inviolability and purity.⁴⁵ The bestowal of such honours was significantly strategic on Octavian's part; by giving Octavia and Livia a level of status and prestige similar to the sacred Vestal priestesses, Octavian in turn enhanced his own position as the preeminent power in the state as opposed to Antony. The purpose of the move was a most politically advantageous response by Octavian to the insult Antony had made against Octavia after he had taken up personal, yet political, relations with the Egyptian queen Cleopatra. Antony was still married to Octavia.⁴⁶ Extending this honour to Livia as well ensured the protection and status of the women closest to Octavian. In addition, both Caesar and Octavian had been granted *sacrosanctitas* to protect them from public attacks. Scholars have recognized this extension of tribunician *sacrosanctitas* to women as a remarkable, unprecedented act dripping with political potency and influence.⁴⁷ This dispensation can be viewed not only as a sign of the growing status and political importance of women in Rome during the late Republic, but also of the increasing awareness of men in power as to the advantages of associating themselves with their distinguished female relatives.

Dio also mentions that public statues ordered by senatorial decree were erected for Octavia and Livia around the same time, the first such honour bestowed upon Roman women.⁴⁸ Portrait sculptures of Livia and Octavia dated from this time and continued thereafter, a testimony to the growing status and prestige of these two women. Only one other prior example of a publicly commissioned statue for a Roman woman is known whereby the people, not the Senate, granted a statue to Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, sometime in the mid-late 2nd century BCE.⁴⁹ Flory states that this honour for Cornelia was exceptional, perhaps reflecting "the Hellenizing tendencies of the *nobiles*", and that there is no surviving evidence for other such statues for women at Rome until those granted for Livia and Octavia in 35 BCE.⁵⁰ However, not long after the establishment of the statue for Cornelia, statues of female relatives of Roman magistrates in the provinces of the Greek east began to appear, set up by the local public assemblies to commemorate the relationship of these women to their politically important male relatives.⁵¹ But they also acknowledged some women as benefactors who had contributed substantial sums of money for public works.⁵² Although the statues of Octavia and Livia erected in Rome in 35 BCE cannot be directly linked to any particular public benefaction they may have made, we do know that both women made significant financial contributions to public causes over the course of their lifetimes.⁵³

While the statues set up for Octavia and Livia in 35 BCE no longer survive, their possible locations of placement in Rome may have special significance in relation to Livia's later commemoration on coins, particularly those issued in the provinces. Flory postulates that while we do not know where these statues may have been placed in Rome, a logical site would have been the Temple of Venus

Genetrix built by Caesar and situated in his forum.⁵⁴ The connection between two important mother-figures in Octavian's immediate family to the founding mother of the *gens Iulia* was a logical opportunity for the further building up of prestige for Octavian via his close female family members. Livia's eventual status as *materfamilias*, the female head of the imperial family, and as progenitor of the dynasty was later commemorated on coins that referred to Livia as *Iulia Augusta Genetrix Orbis* issued by Colonia Romula in Spain during the reign of Tiberius.⁵⁵ Therefore, the statue dedication of 35 BCE was intended to serve several purposes, not only to distinguish Octavia and Livia from other Roman women of high and low status, but also to help pave the way for the commemoration of female members of the imperial family as symbols of the power and prestige by men promoting the ruling regime.

The extent to which such publicly decreed honourific statues for women continued over the course of Augustus's reign is difficult to establish in any concrete manner. We know that a series of statues were set up in Livia's honour in recognition of her grief at the death of her son Drusus.⁵⁶ She was honoured through the Ara Pacis Augustae not only through her depiction on it, but also through the dedication of the monument on her birthday. A number of sculptural portraits of Livia dating from this time survive, and they continued to be produced through to the reign of the emperor Claudius, but those without accompanying inscriptions make it difficult to determine which ones were of the statues decreed for Livia.⁵⁷ In addition, numerous inscriptions (not necessarily belonging to statues) attest to the many public honours devoted to Livia and to her popularity throughout the Empire.⁵⁸ As has already been described earlier, she was praised very highly in the literary works of Ovid and Velleius Paterculus.

Livia's image first made an appearance on coins issued in Rome's eastern Greek provinces during the reign of Augustus. As Livia's status and political influence grew in Rome, the number of coins issued to commemorate Livia grew as well and culminated in the issue of coins in Rome that represented the empress in her roles as priestess and mother of the ruling imperial family. The chapters of this book that follow will examine the coins of Rome and its empire that bore images representative of Livia and how these images were conceived not only as a means of honouring Rome's most powerful woman, but also as a commentary on the socio-political conditions and gender-specific roles she signified.

Representations of Livia in visual media

The extensive representation of Livia in Roman sculpture and cameos, as well as what ancient historians such as Cassius Dio and Tacitus have said about her, indicates that she was truly the "first lady of Imperial Rome" as she is referred to in the title of Antony A. Barrett's important biography on her (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2002). Livia was promoted through visual media as the most important female member of the imperial family, even surpassing Augustus's daughter Julia, who had borne sons to succeed the emperor where Livia had failed

to do so. We see this promotion under Augustus in the many sculptural portraits of Livia that survive, as well as on coins of the provinces that refer to her. This promotion of Livia continued after the succession of her son Tiberius when she was adopted into the *gens Iulia* and named “*Iulia Augusta*”, and appointed priestess of the newly established cult of the deified Augustus. That the visual iconographic repertoire developed for Livia in sculptural and cameo media worked in tandem with that designed for coins is of seminal importance throughout this book and integral to understanding the ideology surrounding Livia’s socio-political and religious roles as evinced through coins.

The first visual representations of Livia occurred in the sculptural medium rather than the numismatic. The earliest surviving sculptural portrait of Livia, which was found at Carthage, dates to the early 30s BCE and was likely created soon after Livia’s marriage to Octavian in 38 BCE.⁵⁹ In 35 BCE, the Senate voted that statues be set up in Rome in honour of Livia and Octavia, as just mentioned previously.⁶⁰ There is also epigraphic evidence from Greece dating to around 31 BCE that indicates statues of Livia and her husband Octavian were set up in the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis.⁶¹ Unfortunately, most of these earliest portraits of Livia do not survive, but a sufficient number of portraits of Livia have survived from the early reign of Augustus and the reign of her son Tiberius, which provide a detailed picture of the portrait types that were produced for Livia during her lifetime and posthumously.

Coins bearing representations of Livia were first issued during the reign of Augustus, not in Rome, but in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. The city of Ephesus in the province of Asia was most likely the first city to issue such coins. Ephesus had been issuing coins under Roman authority throughout the late Republican period, bearing the names of proconsuls and eventually those of Marc Antony and Augustus. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact dates of these early issues, but an overlap between the magistrates issuing coins under Marc Antony and then under Augustus may suggest that the Augustan coinage, including those bearing Livia’s image began very early in his reign.⁶² These early coins of Ephesus include ones with obverse jugate portraits of Augustus and Livia, as well as other rare issues that appear to have Livia’s portrait alone on the obverse.⁶³ Coins referring to Livia continued to be issued by several eastern mints over the course of Augustus’s reign, while the mint of Rome remained silent regarding her. There may be one exception, however, in a silver denarius that was issued at Rome in 13 BCE and depicts on its reverse the triple portraits of a female between two male ones.⁶⁴ The female portrait is generally accepted by scholars to be Augustus’s daughter Julia flanked by the portraits of her sons Gaius and Lucius, but a case could be made for the possible interpretation of Livia as well, which I will discuss at a later point in this book.

During the reign of Livia’s son Tiberius, the number of cities issuing coin types of Livia increased to include mints in both the east and the west, as well as the mint of Rome issuing its first coin with a secure obverse portrait of Livia, the so-called “*Salus*” dupondius of 22–23 CE, already mentioned earlier. After Livia’s

death her numismatic commemoration appeared under subsequent emperors, but only rarely. The issues included Claudius's impressive dupondius commemorating Livia's deification in 42 CE, as well as a few bronze and precious metal issues of Galba, some restored Tiberian types under Titus and Trajan, as well as coins of Antoninus Pius that appear to depict the cult statues of the deified Augustus and Livia in the Temple of the Deified Augustus in Rome. Although around 180 coin types pertaining to Livia from various parts of the Empire survive, they represent only a very small portion of the total amount of coin types issued under Augustus and Tiberius. Nevertheless, the coin types of Livia held significance for the viewer, especially when the coins are considered within the context of the overall visual programme for representing Livia that transcended sculpture and cameos as well. A comprehensive discussion of the coins of Livia issued throughout the Empire is covered in Chapter 3.

Of particular importance to understanding the significance and impact of the coin types of Rome's first empress is the question of agency and audience: Who initiated and designed the images on the coins and for whom were they created? Also, was the issuing of these coins representing Livia sporadic or part of a structured visual programme? The debate of who chose the coin types, emperor or mint officials, has had ample scholarly support on both sides, but the answer quite simply is that we do not know for sure either way. However, the recent general consensus is that the emperor was unlikely to have made coin type selections personally,⁶⁵ although it is not completely outside the realm of possibility that he may have requested particular types from time to time. It is certainly difficult to imagine that the emperor himself could have regularly visited the mint and initiated all the numerous coin types that were issued in Rome and across the provinces. Both Levick and Wallace-Hadrill have argued that the coin types were likely chosen by government officials, perhaps the *tresviri monetales* (board of three mint magistrates) or the secretary *a rationibus* (finance minister in charge of the imperial treasury) or other high ranking officials, who desired to flatter and honour the emperor.⁶⁶ Sutherland, on the other hand, disagrees arguing that the "young" and therefore junior magistrates *tresviri monetales* would not have been given the hefty responsibility of choosing coin types, but rather a much higher ranking official, and that the audience of these types was primarily the Senate and the army.⁶⁷ At the mints of the provinces, the decisions regarding the images placed on coins still resided with the local elite and responsible mint magistrates, who were generally free to choose these images.⁶⁸ Cheung has contended that coin types were "undoubtedly designed to be acceptable to the princeps", but that the supposition that they were primarily intended for flattery of the emperor is problematic.⁶⁹ Whether the coins were meant to flatter or to convey messages specific to the army, Senate or the masses, the end result would have been the same: honouring the emperor and his family, and promoting ideologies emblematic of the ruling imperial regime.⁷⁰

Given that the primary purpose of imperial coin images and their associated messages, both intended and perceived, was honourific towards the emperor and

his family, how do we define such numismatic honours as they pertain to Livia? The key to understanding these honourific images of Livia on coins is to analyse their commemorative aspect within the context of the other media that were produced roughly contemporaneously to the coins, namely sculpture and cameos.⁷¹ Both Levick and Cheung have noted that a coin is a monument like other monuments, such as sculpture, with Cheung describing the coins as “monuments in miniature” and that they functioned alongside other media.⁷² Integral to the study of Livia’s coins contained herein is their analysis in conjunction with other visual media, as well as inscriptions which, as will be shown, shared visual imagery and text in common in a number of instances. Such an approach will reveal that the coins were both honourific in their commemoration of the empress, and at the same time they were designed to communicate particular ideologies surrounding the empress as wife, mother and even divine figure, who was an important part in ensuring the success of the newly established Julio-Claudian dynasty.

Both sculptures and cameos representing Livia will be discussed extensively in relation to Livia’s images on coins throughout the course of this book. Therefore, I will not go into great detail on this ancient evidence here. However, it is important to note that a number of Livia’s portrait statues have survived and originate not only from Rome, but all parts of the Empire. Elizabeth Bartman’s *Portraits of Livia: Imaging the Imperial Woman in Augustan Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) is a seminal and comprehensive study of Livia’s sculptural and cameo portraits, which shows the progression of portrait styles, themes and types used in the representation of Livia in art from the time of Augustus through to her death under Tiberius, as well as her subsequent commemoration under the remaining Julio-Claudian emperors. Susan Wood’s *Imperial Women: A Study in Public Images, 40 BC–AD 68* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), also discusses Livia’s sculptural, numismatic and cameo portraits, as well as those of other women of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The portraits compiled by Bartman and Wood will provide an essential resource for my analysis of Livia’s coin images, which aims to show that the visual attributes of coins were shared in the iconography of Livia’s images in other media. This shared iconography facilitated the visual recognition of Livia on the part of the viewer and provided the potential for multiple meanings to be associated with Livia and her roles in society.

Recent scholarship in particular has become increasingly interested in how coins were exploited in the ancient world, and in particular the Roman Empire, for the purpose of distributing images infused with messages reflecting the socio-political ideology of the state. The first substantial study of coins depicting Livia was conducted by Walter H. Gross in his book *Julia Augusta: Untersuchungen zur Grundlegung einer Livia-Ikonographie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), which attempted to compile and categorize the Livia coins in order to better identify, date and categorize Livia’s portraits in the sculptural arts. More recently several scholars have taken an interest in the numismatic images of particular Roman empresses, namely Martin Beckmann’s work on the posthumous coins of Faustina the Elder, Clare Rowan’s work on the coins of Severan women,

Julie Langford's work on Julia Domna, and more recently Brännstedt's work on Livia as *femina princeps*.⁷³ In addition, these scholars have taken into consideration, although not exhaustively, the wider context of other visual media in which the coins functioned in tandem. Given the importance of numismatic images, such studies have the potential to significantly enhance our understanding of the overall visual programme composed for imperial women and the ideologies they were designed to convey. In the case of Livia's public image and persona this research is especially timely, because other parts of the visual programme for Livia, in particular sculpture, are already well documented thanks to the studies of Gross, Bartman, Wood and Alexandridis.⁷⁴

Throughout this work, I examine the degree to which the visual programme executed on coins was shared with other visual media and at the same time differentiate the features of the numismatic visual programme which made it distinct. In order to understand this visual programme that was designed for Livia one must first seek out its origins. Chapter 1 of this book will explore how numismatic depictions of Livia developed within the broader context of the origins of the visual representation of Roman women as a whole, since others, in particular Octavia, made an appearance on coins before Livia. The chapter will examine the extent to which the images of Roman women, present in a variety of visual media in the years leading up to the fall of the Roman Republic, were influenced by earlier portraits executed for powerful women of the Hellenistic Greek east, a culture Rome was intrigued by and in close contact with. Images of Hellenistic royal women, as well as the many representations of female divinities found on Greek, as well as Roman Republican coins, had a significant impact on the coin images designed for Livia. Such an examination inevitably leads us to the detailed analyses of Livia's coin images themselves and how they functioned as a distinct visual medium.

Once the foundations for the development of Livia's visual programme have been explored, the actual "mapping" of Livia's visual programme, as it exists in the body of numismatic evidence which survives, will span the length of Chapter 2. The chapter begins with a critical discussion of the typologies that scholars such as Gross, Winkes and Bartman have established for the sculptural portraits of Livia and the role coins have played in identifying these portraits. Consideration of the debate surrounding the intelligibility of Livia's coin images will naturally follow, along with an examination of how a combination of analyses of the coin images (semiotic patterning of image elements), coin legends and other contextual evidence such as sculptures and inscriptions are necessary for the identification of coin images referring to Livia. Next, comprehensive analyses of Livia's coin images will take into consideration the semantic nature of Roman art in order to isolate image elements and patterns of image composition that transcend both coins and other media such as sculpture. Such analyses establish three primary modes of representation found in the numismatic visual programme developed for Livia: Livia's facial portraits; Livia seated on a chair or throne; and Livia in a standing pose. A comparison of the patterns of visual representation contained

in coinage with those found in other media shows the degree to which the visual elements of coins transcended a broad visual milieu and thereby achieved a degree of depth of meaning not shared by other media. This depth is characterized by the mass media nature of the coins and their ability to share iconography, to adapt it, and to be part of a vast visual narrative which incorporated other coins, particularly when part of a coin series, and other media such as sculpture. Such “mapping” will facilitate the recognition of meaningful patterns among co-occurring signs that were employed in numismatic images of Livia,⁷⁵ which in turn communicated visually various significant socio-political messages concerning the Julio-Claudian ruling regime to the widest audience possible.

Once the visual programme for Livia’s representation on coins has been mapped out, the question of how Rome and the provinces developed, adapted, adjusted and implemented that programme must be addressed. Chapter 3 examines coin images of Livia within the context of the various provinces of the Roman Empire in which they were issued. While there is evidence in other media, namely sculpture, that a standard of representation for imperial family members was put forward by the ruling imperial regime in Rome, the coins indicate that this visual standard was not always strictly adhered to, but rather inspired local provincial types. The chapter will address such issues as the apparent differences between the ways Livia was portrayed on coins in the eastern parts of the Empire versus the western ones. I will also consider whether certain images were peculiar to specific regions of the Empire thereby expressing messages and meanings relevant to local viewers while at the same time serving the ideological and propaganda interests of the central Roman imperial governing authority. Furthermore, the manner in which Livia was represented, whether as key female member of the Roman imperial family or as divine female figure, was influenced to great extent by local ideologies and perceptions of Livia’s status and role in society. This portion of the study will be greatly facilitated by an analysis of the inscriptions found on coins of a particular region in relation to the epigraphic evidence that also survives from that region, which will shed light on how extensively the messages on coins permeated other media, and who the authors and target audiences of those message were.

The fourth chapter examines how coins can provide a more complete understanding of the power and influence embodied in Livia’s visual persona and what this can tell us about the use of male-female gender-based ideologies of power early in the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Even though Livia did not fit into, and was on the margins of, the official power hierarchy of her male relatives, she did exude a multi-faceted power best explained through the theory of heterarchy, which considers power to be a meshwork of social variables, as opposed to a top-down hierarchy where such variables are ranked one on top of the other. Such an approach will reveal that Livia’s images on coins were more than just symbols exploited by men to communicate their own power and right to rule, as expressed by scholars such as Wood and Corbier, but that they were also potent symbols of Livia’s own legitimate power and status. This chapter reveals how

messages of power and gender roles, as communicated by coins, supported the power ideologies of the ruling Roman imperial family.

The overall objective of my research is not to determine definitively what coins tell us about Livia, far less to produce a comprehensive analysis of “who Livia was”. Previous scholarship has taken considerable steps in detailing Livia’s portrayal in other visual media with most of its emphasis on sculpture, but this was only a part of the overall programme. This book reveals what the coins as a significant and substantial body of art historical and archaeological evidence have to offer regarding the construction of the image of Livia while focusing on the social role of the visual. Analysis of numismatic and other imagery of Livia will contribute to our understanding of the transition from Republic to empire and the role of imperial women therein. Also, this work will uncover the potential of Roman provincial coins, an invaluable source of information regarding provincial perspectives of Roman women, whose images and messages often contrast with those issued in the official mints of Rome itself. Such coins give us views of Livia that have only been discussed briefly, if at all in previous scholarship. Therefore, this work is a timely one and has the potential not only to shed light on an important part of Livia’s visual programme, but also opens up the field of numismatics to new possibilities and approaches with regard to semiotic analysis and gender studies. My ultimate goal is to see a full integration of numismatic evidence into the various scholarly debates that deal with visual communication, gender studies and Roman imperial history in general.

Notes

- 1 Dio 48.34.3 states that Octavian left Scribonia for Livia on the day of his daughter’s birth. See also Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 21.
- 2 Suet. *Tib.* 4.3; Dio 48.44; Vell. Pat. 2.79.2.
- 3 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 4; Suet. *Tib.* 1–2.
- 4 *Oxford Classical Dictionary (OCD)*⁴, 877, s.v. “Livius Drusus (2), Marcus”; Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 7.
- 5 Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 87.1.
- 6 Corbier, “Male Power and Legitimacy through Women: the Domus Augusta under the Julio-Claudians”, 178–193; Severy, *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire*, 232–250.
- 7 Fantham et al., *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text*, 219–220, 239–240.
- 8 Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 153–165, 213–231.
- 9 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia: Imaging the Imperial Woman in Augustan Rome*, xxi; Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 5.
- 10 Some noteworthy examples include: Ramsby and Severy-Hoven, “Gender, Sex, and the Domestication of the Empire in the Art of the Augustan Age”, 43–71; Varner, “Transcending Gender: Assimilation, Identity, and Roman Imperial Portraits”, 185–205; Davies, “Portrait Statues as Models for Gender Roles in Roman Society”, 207–220.
- 11 Kampen, “Between Public and Private: Women as Historical Subjects in Roman Art”, 242.
- 12 Plin. *HN* 15.40 136–137; Suet. *Galb.* 1; Dio 48.52.3–4. See also Flory, “The Symbolism of the Laurel in Cameo Portraits of Livia”, 53.
- 13 Dio 55.14–22.2.

- 14 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 199–205; Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 135–136; Flory, “Sic Exempla Parantur: Livia’s Shrine to Concordia and the Porticus Liviae”, 309–330; Purcell, “Livia and the Womanhood of Rome”, 88–90. See also Ov. *Fast.* 5.147–158 re: Temple of Bona Dea and 6.637 re: Temple of Concordia; re: Temple of Fortuna Muliebris, see *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL)* 6.883. It is important to note that monuments and buildings such as the Porticus Liviae were often commissioned by prominent men, in this case one would assume by Augustus. But Livia most certainly was able to put funds into these monuments as a patron and she is believed to have even provided input into their designs.
- 15 Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 104–112, 136; Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 89–90; Wood, *Imperial Women: A Study in Public Images, 40 BC–AD 68*, 99–102.
- 16 Dio 56.32.1; Suet. *Aug.* 101.2; Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.1.
- 17 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 148–151.
- 18 Tac. *Ann.* 1.14. 1–4.
- 19 *Roman Provincial Coinage (RPC)* I, 849, 850.
- 20 Tac. *Ann.* 1.72.4, 5.2 and 5.3.1; Suet. *Tib.* 50.2–3; Dio 57.12.1–6. Suetonius, Dio and Tacitus recount the Senate’s suggestion that Tiberius be referred to as “son of Julia” or “son of Livia”, and that Livia be given the honourific title “Parent of her Country”, both of which Tiberius adamantly refused to allow. See also Tac. *Ann.* 3.64.
- 21 Vell. Pat. 2.75.3; Dio 56.46.1; Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 156–160.
- 22 Dio 56.46.3.
- 23 Tac. *Ann.* 3. 64.
- 24 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 91–92.
- 25 *Roman Imperial Coinage (RIC)* I², 47. Note that throughout this book all footnote references to coins from collections such as *RRC*, *RIC*, *RPC* and *BMC* refer to the number of the coin in the catalogue itself. Page numbers are not cited unless comments by the catalogue author/editor are being referred to, in which case the author(s)/editor(s) names will be cited as well.
- 26 *RPC* I, 1159 (Corinth), 1779 (Byzantium), and 833, 835 (Oea).
- 27 Tac. *Ann.* 5.1; Dio 58.2.1–3.
- 28 Tac. *Ann.* 5.2; Dio 58.2.1–6; Suet. *Tib.* 51.2.
- 29 Ov. *Pont.* 2.8.44–45. Here, Ovid prays for Livia’s support and wishes her family well. See also Johnson, “Ovid’s Livia in Exile”, 418.
- 30 Ov. *Fast.* 1.535–536.
- 31 Ov. *Fast.* 1.649–650. See also Ov. *Pont.* 3.1.113–118.
- 32 Ov. *Tr.* 1.6.25–29. In this passage Ovid praises his wife for modeling herself after Livia, that *femina princeps*:

sive tibi hoc debes, nullo pia facta magistro,
cumque nova mores sunt tibi luce dati,
femina seu princeps omnes tibi culta per annos
te docet exemplum coniugis esse bonae,
adsimilemque sui longa adsuetudine fecit,
- 33 Ov. *Pont.* 2.8.27–29. Here, Ovid praises the greatness of Augustus and his family, but identifies Livia as the only one equal or comparable to him:

Per patriae nomen, quae te tibi carior ipso est,
per numquam surdos in tua vota deos,
perque tori sociam, quae par tibi sola reperta est,
- 34 Vell. Pat. 2.130.4–5.
- 35 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 239.
- 36 For Livia’s association with the deaths of Gaius and Lucius see Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.3–4, with that of Agrippa Postumus see 1.6, and with that of Augustus see 1.5. Regarding Livia’s

female lack of control see 1.4.5: “Accedere matrem muliebri inpotentia: serviendum feminae duobusque insuper adulescentibus qui rem publicam interim premant quandoque distrahant”.

37 Tac. *Ann.* 5.1.1–4.

38 Suet. *Aug.* 73.

39 Suet. *Tib.* 50.2–3.

40 Suet. *Calig.* 23.2: “Liviam Augustam proaviam ‘Ulixem stolatum’ identidem appellans, . . .” Note that this epithet was not paid to Livia as a compliment, but rather a slur, as in the same passage Suetonius goes on to state that Caligula even accused Livia of low birth in a letter to the Senate. Nonetheless, Livia was seen by Caligula, and perhaps others, as someone of influence and cunning, but the tone implies that such qualities were unbecoming a woman.

41 Dio 53.33.4, 55.10a.10, 56.30.1–2.

42 Dio 58.2.5–6.

43 Note that there is some debate among scholars as to whether Fulvia is the individual depicted on the coins, an issue which I deal with briefly later on in Chapter 1, p. 18 and 34ff.

44 Dio 49.38.1–2. Although Dio does not specify the formalities, it is likely that these privileges were given with the Senate’s approval. Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 136 and Purcell, “Livia and the Womanhood of Rome”, 85–86 also suggest that these actions taken by Octavian were designed to facilitate a more public role for women. Note that Reinhold argues that Vestals themselves did not receive tribunician *sacrosanctitas* until later, on the model of Octavia and Livia. See Reinhold, *From Republic to Principate: An Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio’s Roman History Books 49–52 (36–29 BC)*, 72. Nonetheless, other sources (see note 45) indicate that Vestal Virgins already held *sanctitas* by the tradition and religious authority of their priestly office.

45 Wildfang, *Rome’s Vestal Virgins: a study of Rome’s Vestal priestesses in the late Republic and early Empire*, 92; Lindner, *Portraits of the Vestal Virgins, Priestesses of Ancient Rome*, 187–188.

46 Flory, “Livia and the History of Public Honorific Statues for Women in Rome”, 293.

47 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 136–138.

48 Dio 49.38.1–2.

49 Plut. *C. Gracch.* 4.3; Plin. *HN* 34.14.31; Fantham et al., *Women in the Classical World*, 265; Flory, “Livia and the History of Public Honorific Statues for Women in Rome”, 287. For the inscription on Cornelia’s statue base in Porticus Octaviae see *CIL* 6.10043. There may have also been ones for Cloelia and Tarpeia as well. See Chapter 1, p. 32, note 55 (re: Cornelia).

50 Flory, “Livia and the History of Public Honorific Statues for Women in Rome”, 292.

51 Ibid, 287.

52 Thompson, *Female Portrait Sculpture of the First Century BC in Italy and the Hellenistic East*, 23.

53 For a detailed discussion of Livia’s numerous public works see Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 186–214. Regarding the Porticus Octaviae and the Porticus Liviae see Suet. *Aug.* 29.4.

54 Flory, “Livia and the History of Public Honorific Statues for Women in Rome”, 295.

55 *RPC* I, 73.

56 Dio 55.2.6.

57 Bartman’s *Portraits of Livia* provides a thorough accounting of the sculptural portraits created for Livia from the time of Augustus through to Claudius and originating from various parts of the Empire. Epigraphic evidence related to statues shows that both local governments and individuals, including magistrates and priests, set up statues for Livia. See Bartman’s catalogue, pp. 146–187.

- 58 Barrett's *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome* provides a rather comprehensive, but not necessarily complete, catalogue of these inscriptions, 265–293.
- 59 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 60–61 and 175. Note that this particular portrait, although bearing facial features that strongly resemble other portraits of Livia, does not fit into any particular established typology for Livia given its unusual hairstyle.
- 60 Dio 49. 38.1–2.
- 61 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 199, no. 1; Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*, 140–141, no. 71; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 92. Suet. *Aug.* 93 and Dio 51.4.1 records that Octavian was initiated into the mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis, which makes such a dedication of sculptures to Octavian and Livia highly probable.
- 62 Burnett et al., *RPC* I, 432. The authors of *RPC* are not completely convinced that this is the case, given some stylistic features that may imply a slightly later date.
- 63 *RPC* I, 2576, 2580–2585, 2587, 2589, 2591, 2593–2596, 2599–2606, 2608–2612. The jugate portrait type coins were issued in a couple of different denominations under several magistrates, which means that they seem to have been a fairly common issue, while the ones with Livia's portrait alone were on rarer smaller denominations.
- 64 *RIC* I², 404, 405.
- 65 Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 70; Levick, "Propaganda and the Imperial Coinage" 108; Wallace-Hadrill, "Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus", 67; Cheung, "The Political Significance of Roman Imperial Coin Types", 53.
- 66 Levick, "Propaganda and the Imperial Coinage", 107–108; Wallace-Hadrill, "Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus, 67–68.
- 67 Sutherland, "Compliment or Complement? Dr. Levick on Imperial Coin Types", 88–91.
- 68 See Chapter 3, p. 112, n. 30 (Horster).
- 69 Cheung, "The Political Significance of Roman Imperial Coin Types", 53.
- 70 Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 70; Levick, "Propaganda and the Imperial Coinage", 109; Levick, "Messages on the Roman Coinage: Types and Inscriptions", 51.
- 71 Noreña, "Coins and Communication", 261.
- 72 Levick, "Propaganda and the Imperial Coinage", 105; Cheung, "The Political Significance of Roman Imperial Coin Types", 57.
- 73 Lovisa Brännstedt, *Femina Princeps: Livia's Position in the Roman State* (Lund: Lund University, 2016); Martin Beckmann, *Diva Faustina: Coinage and Cult in Rome and the Provinces*, Numismatic Studies 26 (New York: American Numismatic Society, 2012); Clare Rowan, "The Public Image of the Severan Women", *Papers of the British School at Rome* 79 (2011): 241–273; Julie Langford, *Maternal Megalomania: Julia Domna and the Imperial Politics of Motherhood* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).
- 74 Bibliographic info for Gross, Bartman and Wood has been referred to in the text. See also Annetta Alexandridis, *Die Frauen des Römischen Kaiserhauses: Eine Untersuchung ihrer Bildlichen Darstellung von Livia bis Iulia Domna* (Manz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2004).
- 75 Bauer, "Is what you see all you get? Recognizing meaning in archaeology", 39.

DESIGNING ROMAN WOMEN ON COINS

Origins and early typology

The first appearance of the image of a living Roman woman on coins took place shortly after the portrait of Julius Caesar first appeared on the coins of Rome in 44 BCE.¹ This public accolade of placing an illustrious Roman individual's portrait on a coin was the pinnacle of over a century and a half of Roman statesmen promoting themselves and their distinguished families for political ends on the coins of the mint of Rome.² The first Roman woman to have her portrait placed on coins was Fulvia, Marc Antony's third wife, who was depicted in the guise of the female personification Victoria (Victory) on an *aureus* of Rome issued by the moneyer C. Numonius Vaala in 43 BCE.³ On the surface this event may seem revolutionary to some in terms of Roman coin imagery, and some scholars have questioned the Fulvia identification.⁴ There is no disputing the fact that the portrait of Octavia, Antony's fourth wife and sister of his fellow triumvir Octavian, appeared on coins just a few years later and then Livia about ten to 15 years after that, albeit almost exclusively on provincial coins. From this point on, the programme for the numismatic commemoration of Roman imperial women developed gradually with Livia's coin images serving as models for those of later empresses.

While the first portrait of a living Roman woman, Fulvia, appeared on coins of western mints of Rome and Lugdunum, the majority of the early coin portraits of Roman women, including those of Livia from the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, were not issued at the mint of Rome itself, but rather they were issued by the eastern Greek mints of the Roman Empire, where there was already an established tradition of commemorating Hellenistic royal women on coins. Evidence from Greek coin hoards indicates that Romans of the 1st century BCE dwelling in the eastern Greek provinces of the Roman Empire would most plausibly have come into contact with coins bearing the portraits of Hellenistic royal women, given that coins of Hellenistic rulers from the 4th to the 2nd centuries BCE have been found in coin hoards dating from the 1st century BCE.⁵ While the number of coin portraits of Hellenistic queens was not nearly as prolific as those of their male counterparts, we know that such coin portraits continued to be issued down to the time of Cleopatra VII of Egypt (r. 51–30 BCE). I shall show that image types and image elements drawn from the visual iconographic repertoire of Hellenistic queens influenced the design of the portraits of Roman women on coins.

But why do the portraits of Roman women suddenly make a debut on coins of the 40s BCE? Or was it as sudden as it seems? This chapter explores the origins of the portrayal of Roman women on coins and will examine the earliest representations of Roman women on coins in order to establish the visual codes and modes used to portray these women, who ultimately were the prototypes for Livia's eventual depiction on coins, both Roman and provincial. The systematic details and significance of such visual codes and modes as they pertain to Livia will be examined in Chapter 2. As will be shown, the practice of the depiction of women on coins had been developing in the Hellenistic Greek east for at least the last two centuries prior to the appearance of Fulvia and Octavia on coins. Under the Republic, although the occurrences are much less frequent than on Greek coins, the depictions of women of myth and ancestral distinction nonetheless made their mark on coins of Rome. It is in the traditions of these earlier numismatic representations of women that those of Livia developed.

While it is beyond the scope of this work to detail the entire iconographic programme for the coins depicting women, including Hellenistic queens, that were produced prior to those of Livia, what I aim to do in the following pages is set out some of the general iconographic concepts that either served as prototypes or influenced the visual programme that was eventually conceived for Livia. I will explore several examples which illustrate the specific visual iconographic elements and formulas that were employed to create a standard female image on coins.

Hellenistic prototypes: the conception of the visual canon

The practice of putting an individual's portrait on a coin was not entirely unfamiliar to the Roman viewer when the Romans themselves began placing portraits of their own leaders on coins during the last decades of the Republic. Prior to this time, the Hellenistic kings and successors of Alexander the Great had been issuing coins with ruler portraits for two and a half centuries. Romans from the ruling class must have been aware of the fact that Hellenistic kings had been placing images of themselves and their royal family members on coins.⁶ It is also highly plausible that Romans controlled the output of coinage, in particular precious metal coinage, in the provinces of Achaea, Macedonia and Asia from 146 BCE onwards.⁷ In fact, the portrait of one of their own, the Roman general T. Quinctius Flamininus, appeared on gold stater coins struck somewhere in Greece circa 196 BCE, shortly after his defeat of Philip V of Macedon the year prior.⁸ It is generally agreed that Flamininus did not initiate the issue of these coins himself, but that the Greeks struck them in his honour.⁹ Similarly, Julius Caesar's likeness had appeared on provincial coins before its debut in Rome in 44 BCE.¹⁰

Not only did the portraits of male rulers appear on Hellenistic Greek coins, but also those of important royal female family members, a practice that would later be employed by the Romans. An important question to address is why Hellenistic rulers felt the need to place their images on coins, especially when there had been

no occurrence of such a phenomenon on Greek coins prior to this. Certainly, the argument can be made that these coins bearing ruler portraits were symbolic of independent royal status very much in the tradition of the Persian kings whom these Macedonian generals had conquered. Persian rulers, including satraps, had placed images of themselves on coins prior to late 4th century BCE when Alexander's successors began issuing coins first with Alexander's portraits and then their own soon after.¹¹ But perhaps a more pressing question for the purposes of this study is what inspired and influenced the design of these new Hellenistic coin portraits. What follows is a discussion of the visual elements that were incorporated into the initial design of Hellenistic coin portraits with a particular emphasis on Hellenistic queens. An understanding of the visual design of these early coin portraits of Hellenistic royal women, including their facial features and hairstyles, will provide a basis and a context from which we can later examine and analyse the visual design of the coin portraits of Fulvia, Octavia and eventually the corpus of coins depicting Livia.

Scholars of Greek and Roman numismatics generally agree that portrait sculpture served as the models for the portraits on coins whether they be human or divine subjects.¹² The prototypes for ruler portraiture on Hellenistic coins developed in much the same way as they did for ruler portraits in sculpture with portrait models being drawn from the extensive visual repertoire that existed for images of gods and goddesses, but with visual elements and styles adapted to show the depiction of a person rather than a god.¹³ A fusion of the iconographic traditions for the gods with the personal physiognomic features of an individual can be found in sculptural portraits of men and women that existed in the late Classical period, namely philosopher and funerary portraits.¹⁴ This fusion of iconographic elements and styles from two visual categories or traditions of representation, that of gods on the one hand and of individuals on the other, became much more prolific in the visual programme developed for Hellenistic kings and their family members. After the god-like status Alexander the Great achieved in life and in death, his successors from the Ptolemies to the Antigonids came to be seen as akin to the gods, yet at the same time human. The dualistic human/divine nature of the Hellenistic kings was reflected in literature and in art, namely portraits.¹⁵

A similar tradition of drawing upon the iconographic repertoire of the divine can be found in the sculptural portraits of women during the Hellenistic period, but without the desire to represent natural physiognomic features of the individual being represented. The extensive scholarship of Sheila Dillon on Greek female portraits has clearly demonstrated parallels between the clothing and hairstyles of goddesses such as Aphrodite and Demeter and those of Hellenistic women. However, the facial features of these portraits were often rendered in a more generic, yet idealized and youthful way than was the case in male portraits, at times making it difficult to distinguish whether a goddess, Hellenistic queen or other female personage was being represented.¹⁶

Since the beginnings of coinage in Greece in the 6th to 5th centuries BCE, Greek city states often placed portraits of their patron deities on their coins as a mark of state identity and authority, as well as civic piety. Athenian coinage, for

example, was known for its portraits of Athena and those of Elis, the portraits of Zeus and Hera. Hellenistic kings developed their coin portraits with a desire not to break completely with the Greek convention of infusing the obverses of coins with religious and civic significance through divine images. At the same time, it was necessary to convey individual identities through the display of distinct physiognomic attributes. Therefore, a new hybrid portrait image was conceived, which joined visual elements from the portrait genres that had been developed for gods with those of men. This hybrid portrait image found in sculpture, as well as on coins, was designed in response to the need to separate royal personages from their subjects and competitors.¹⁷ Initially, most successors of Alexander the Great had taken a reserved approach with the images of individuals that were placed on the coins, preferring to depict a posthumous portrait of Alexander the Great in the guise of Heracles or with other divine attributes such as the *aegis* (protective garment/breastplate) that linked the dead and deified conqueror with Zeus and Athena.¹⁸ But after more than two decades of fighting over Alexander's empire in an effort to consolidate it under one ruler, the territories were divided as each successor began to assert his own independent royal status. Coin portraits were seen as a convenient means of asserting such independent authority and became the norm for many of these newly established Hellenistic royal dynasties.¹⁹

The first coin portraits of Hellenistic rulers, namely Ptolemy I of Egypt and his early successors, along with their respective queens, were designed specifically and intentionally with this fusion of divine and mortal iconography in mind. The first ever portrait of a living Hellenistic royal figure to make an appearance on coins was that of Ptolemy I himself on a gold stater of Alexandria issued shortly after he assumed the royal title of *basileus* (king) in 305/4 BCE.²⁰ Ptolemy I's new coin portrait is distinct from previous idealized portraits of gods and even those of Alexander the Great in that his facial features are much more specific to him as an individual. Also, it is in this portrait that we see the first attempts to meld physiognomic facial features of a person with traditional iconographical attributes of the gods. The portraits of gods and even the divine Alexander have facial features that are youthful, flawless and highly standardized in that one cannot tell one face from the next.²¹ In contrast, Ptolemy I's portrait has some facial features that are clearly distinct from those of the gods and his predecessor Alexander. Overall, we see a mature man, perhaps in his fifties or sixties, the approximate age of Ptolemy when the coin was issued.²² Yet, in a desire to remain loyal to the Greek numismatic tradition of representing the divine on the obverses of coins,²³ this personalized image of Ptolemy was infused with divine attributes. First of all, his curly, wind-swept locks are similar to that seen in portraits of Alexander the Great, now a god, while his simple circular band diadem is symbolic of his divine and royal status.²⁴ Secondly and most notable is the fact that he is wearing the *aegis*, which was also seen in coin images of Alexander and is a symbol of Zeus and Athena.²⁵ This hybrid obverse coin type, which appeared on other denominations besides this gold stater, thus set a new portrait design standard for coins where clearly defined and markedly individual facial features are fused with divine attributes.

The development of numismatic portraits of Hellenistic queens emerged virtually contemporaneously with male ones and along very similar lines that included the incorporation of divine attributes and specific styles. The first coin portraits of a living Hellenistic queen possibly belong to Berenike I (c. 340–268 BCE), wife of Ptolemy I. While these coins come from places like Judaea, Rhodes and Cos rather than Egypt, they are believed to bear contemporary portraits of the queen and date to the late 4th to early 3rd centuries BCE.²⁶ Not long afterwards Berenike's daughter Arsinoë II (c. 316–270 BCE) appeared on silver and bronze coins of Ephesus issued c. 288–280 BCE under the authority of her then husband Lysimachus (Figure 1.1), who had been a commander under Alexander the Great and was now ruler of the city. The reason for this issue is not certain, but it was possibly in honour of the occasion when Lysimachus enlarged the city and renamed it Arsinoëa after his wife.²⁷ These coins are remarkable in that they can be confidently identified as the first numismatic portraits of a living woman. In contrast, many subsequent numismatic portraits of Ptolemaic female family members issued in Egypt itself were generally posthumous images until Cleopatra I (r. 180–176 BCE), who was serving as regent for her son Ptolemy VI.

Before Arsinoë II there is no hard evidence for the appearance of female royal portraits either in sculpture or on coins.²⁸ The prototypes for Hellenistic female portraits likely stemmed from portraits of goddesses, incorporating divine attributes as in the case of male royal portraits. Sculptural evidence has shown that the head types used for Hellenistic female portraits were similar to those used in



Figure 1.1 AR Octobol from Ephesus (Asia) with obverse portrait of Arsinoë II. c. 288–280 BCE.

Source: Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

representations of the goddesses, with portraits of the goddess Aphrodite providing the best visual parallels.²⁹ As female beauty was considered to be an important female attribute, images of Aphrodite provided a practical model given the popularity of her image in Classical and Hellenistic Greek sculpture. However, where male royal portraits tend to display more individualized physiognomic features, female portraits seem to be more standardized as an idealized youthful beauty. Dillon has shown convincingly that female portrait statues of the Hellenistic period did not need to convey physiognomic specificity and differentiation in order to stand as a visual representation of a person.³⁰ While such standardization seems to have been the norm for portraits of women in the Hellenistic period in general, there are occasions on Hellenistic royal coinage where distinct individual physiognomy alongside regal or divine identifying attributes were employed for images of queens.³¹ I will now turn to discuss briefly the development of the individual visual components that went into the representations of these royal women on coins. These visual components include facial features, hairstyles, headdress and other attributes, which coincides with the semiotic method of analysis I employ in Chapter 2 as a key to understanding the visual language employed in the composition of numismatic images of Livia and the potential meanings contained in them.

Facial features

In the case of early sculptural portraits of Hellenistic queens, the facial features tend to be quite standardized and based on the stylized facial features of goddesses in general which have perfectly symmetrical, but soft, lines and curves.³² Similarly, early coin portraits of Hellenistic royal women present a fairly standardized portrait style, but later ones from about the mid-2nd century BCE onwards demonstrate more individualized facial features in a number of cases. As mentioned, one of the first Hellenistic queens to have her portrait on coins was Arsinoë II. This silver octobol issued at Ephesus (Figure 1.1) portrays Arsinoë II as a youthful, but mature woman with a slightly arched brow, small round eyes, slender nose, pointed chin and slightly plumped lips. Overall, her face is rather wholesome with full cheeks and slightly fleshy neck. A portrait type with a more refined style was executed in the posthumous portraits of Arsinoë II that appeared on gold octodrachms and silver tetradrachms of Alexandria after her death in 270 BCE (Figure 1.2). Her facial features are only starkly comparable to the portrait that appears on the Ephesus coins, but here they are much more clearly articulated and in a more elegant style. The silver tetradrachm presented here seems to have slightly more stylized facial features, closely resembling portraits of the goddesses found both in coins and sculpture with rather streamlined and generic features.

Some later coin portraits of Ptolemaic queens have facial features similar to those of Arsinoë II, but some variances do occur. Some coin portraits of Berenike II (Figure 1.3), wife of Ptolemy III (r. 246–221 BCE), issued at Alexandria after her death have an almost archaistic style. Another variation in style can be seen



Figure 1.2 AR Tetradrachm from Alexandria (Egypt) with obverse portrait of Arsinoë II. c. 270–240 BCE. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.



Figure 1.3 AR Tetradrachm from Alexandria (Egypt) with obverse portrait of Berenike II. c. 221–203 BCE. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

in the case of a gold pentadrachm of Berenike II from Alexandria (Figure 1.4),³³ which appears to have more individualized and natural looking facial features. In examples such as these, the ideal of youthful beauty was the norm.

Later portraits of Hellenistic queens become more individualized along the lines of their male counterparts, and at the same time noticeably more austere in



Figure 1.4 AV Pentadrachm from Alexandria (Egypt) with obverse portrait of Berenike II. c. 244–221 BCE. Courtesy of the Classical Numismatic Group.

appearance. The implementation in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE of a more individualized and harder looking female image reflected the queens' increasingly political roles experienced during that time.³⁴ For example, Cleopatra Thea, daughter of Ptolemy VI Philometer and Cleopatra II, ruled the Seleucid Kingdom jointly with a series of husbands and sons from 150–121 BCE, while Agathokleia of Bactria (regnal dates possibly c. 135–125 BCE) and Cleopatra I of Egypt (r. 180–176 BCE) both served as regents for their sons. The numismatic portraits of Bactrian royal women are exemplary of the break from the ideals of youthfulness and feminine beauty typical of those from other Hellenistic kingdoms. Bactrian portraiture in general was atypical of contemporary royal portrait styles and was characterized by a distinct, individualized realism.³⁵ A silver drachm of Agathokleia (c. 135–125 BCE) as regent to her son Strato I depicts her as a serious woman with stern features, but with an elegant and somewhat unique hairstyle.³⁶ Her facial features do not have the standardized beauty and elegance of a goddess, nor do they follow the idealized features of earlier Ptolemaic queens. The concept of realism was also adopted for the numismatic portrait of Seleucid queen Cleopatra Thea when depicted alongside her husband Alexander I Balas. A silver tetradrachm featuring the jugate portraits of Cleopatra Thea and her husband is stunning for the attention given by the die engraver to the individual details of the two figures, particularly in the king's slightly ridged nose and prominent "Adam's apple", and the queen's "Venus" rings upon her neck (Figure 1.5). The individualization of these jugate portraits is marked given the tendency for such jugate-style rendering to show marked familial resemblance between the two, which is clearly absent in this case. The use of more individualized facial features became the



Figure 1.5 AR Tetradrachm from Syrian mint with Cleopatra Thea and Alexander I Balas jugate on obverse. c. 150–145 BCE. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

norm on Roman coin portraits of the late Republic and early Roman Empire, and also influenced the design of Livia's numismatic portraits, particularly those created for her both in Rome and in the provinces during the reign of her son Tiberius. Yet, depending on the die engraver, Livia's jugate portraits could take on the facial features of her male relative counterpart.

Hairstyles

The hairstyles of Hellenistic queens appear to have been based on those worn by the goddesses, particularly those styles which mimic the hair curled up in loose waves about the face and then drawn back into a bun. However, some noteworthy variances from the classical divine standard can be found whereby distinctive hairstyles seem to have been chosen to represent a queen as mortally distinct from, yet akin to, a goddess. Portraits of royal women on coins at times bore hairstyles of the more reserved "melon" coiffure with its tightly wound plaits or waves of hair, which later evolved into more relaxed waves of hair that frame the head and face. This adoption of divinely inspired hairstyles was not just a matter of convenience, but more so to liken the portrait subject to various goddesses, such as Hera, Demeter and Aphrodite thereby elevating the subject's status and linking them to specific social and political roles. Not only were portraits of Hellenistic royal women infused with such hairstyles inspired by the coiffures of goddesses, but the portraits of priestesses too bore hairstyles that mimicked those of the goddesses they tended.³⁷

The coin portraits of Arsinoë II appear to show two variances on the same hairstyle known as the "melon" coiffure. On Arsinoë II's coin portrait from Ephesus

(Figure 1.1), the hair is styled in neat, tightly wound plaits or waves of hair placed in rows that extend back along the crown and sides of the head leading underneath a veil and most likely meeting in a bun. Examples of her portrait on coins from Alexandria (Figure 1.2) issued posthumously show a similar hairstyle, but with somewhat more relaxed and loosely wrapped rows of hair about the forehead and face extending back into a wrapped bun that is visible through the veil. Also, small individual accent curls peek out from the hairline of each wrapped row of hair. This particular hairstyle seems to have set a standard style that was sustained in the coin portraits of Ptolemaic queens from Arsinoë II and Berenike II down to Cleopatra VII in the late 1st century BCE (Figure 1.6). However, on occasion exceptional hairstyles may be found such as that worn by Cleopatra Thea, which appears to be a variation of the “melon” coiffure integrating rows of vertical tightly coiled curls or ringlets that frame the face.³⁸

At the end of the 3rd and into the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, the rows of tightly waved hair become even more markedly relaxed in a style strongly reminiscent of the hairstyles of the goddesses. Examples include the coin portraits of Arsinoë III of Egypt and Philistis of Syracuse (Figure 1.7).³⁹ Occasionally, locks of hair even drop down below the ear and about the neck in the more provocative style sometimes seen on goddesses such as Aphrodite and Demeter (compare with Figure 1.9 and Figure 1.10 below), a hairstyle evident in one portrait example of Cleopatra Thea of the Seleucids.⁴⁰ While these hairstyles seem to have been inspired by those of the divine, they do not necessarily indicate outright that the queens depicted were divine, but rather the presence of other attributes such as the sceptre and stephane in combination helped to convey a strongly



Figure 1.6 AE 80 Drachm coin from Alexandria (Egypt) with obverse portrait of Cleopatra VII. c. 51–30 BCE. Courtesy of Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow.



Figure 1.7 AV Octodrachm from Alexandria (Egypt) with obverse portrait of Arsinoë III. c. 205–180 BCE.

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum.

divinized royal figure,⁴¹ one who was the mortal representative of the divine qualities of particular goddesses.

This brief exploration of hairstyles worn by Hellenistic royal women has demonstrated that only a small number of hairstyles were used in portraits of these women, a trend echoed in the sculptural medium as well.⁴² A clear standardization of hairstyles drawn from the visual programme of goddesses endeavoured to idealize and assimilate these women to the beauty, fertility and sexuality of goddesses.⁴³ Yet the coins' portraits, in particular the one of Arsinoë II from Ephesus, reveal that Hellenistic queens also wore hairstyles that were not worn specifically by goddesses, which indicates that the hairstyles could be designed to help identify the figure depicted as a woman, not as a goddess. A similar pattern of select hairstyles employed to convey specific qualities was also implemented in the numismatic and sculptural portraits of Livia who, as we shall see, was portrayed on coins wearing both Roman and Hellenistic-inspired hairstyles.

Headdress and other attributes

Specific attributes drawn from the iconographic repertoire of key goddesses were incorporated into the visual repertoire of Hellenistic queens, and were an important means of referring to a queen's particular divine associations, as well as her social and political status. These royal women were depicted with a variety of attributes including headdress (veil and/or *stephane*), sceptre and other symbols

which have divine associations, attributes which would later be adopted into the numismatic visual programme established for Livia. The numismatic portrait of Arsinoë II from Ephesus (Figure 1.1) presented her with head veiled, the front edge of the veil situated on top of the head about half way back from the hairline, revealing the ears and the forepart of the hairstyle. The veil is echoed on the post-humous tetradrachm of Arsinoë II from Alexandria (Figure 1.2), but here she is also seen with several attributes which link her in an explicit way to the divine including a ram's horn curving and extending from behind her ear, a sceptre topped with a lotus and an ornate diadem or *stephane*. The ram's horn was unique to Arsinoë II, as no other Ptolemaic queen bore this attribute.⁴⁴ Identified as the horn of Ammon, the symbol was also seen in numismatic portraits of Alexander the Great, thereby marking the queen as divine through her association to the gods Ammon and the deified Alexander.⁴⁵ The lotus-topped sceptre, which has been interpreted as a symbol of Isis, can be seen as symbolic of the regal authority of gods and goddesses, whether Greek or Egyptian.⁴⁶ The *stephane* worn by several Ptolemaic queens, as well as Cleopatra Thea of the Seleucid Kingdom, seems to have been inspired by the numismatic iconography employed for images of Hera (Figure 1.8), which espoused these Hellenistic queens' connection to the queen of all the gods. The circular band diadem, as seen in the coin portrait of Cleopatra Thea in Figure 1.5, which was worn either alone or with veil is a common feature of portraits of Aphrodite (Figure 1.9), while the veil was seen in portraits of Hera and Demeter (Figure 1.8 and Figure 1.10). The wearing of jewelery, as seen on a coin portrait of Cleopatra Thea (see Figure 1.5) was standard for many goddesses.



Figure 1.8 AR Tetradrachm from Chalcis (Euboea) with obverse portrait of the goddess Hera, c. 196–146 BCE. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.



Figure 1.9 AR Stater from Cnidos (Asia) with obverse portrait of the goddess Aphrodite. c. 350–320 BCE. Courtesy of the Classical Numismatic Group.



Figure 1.10 AR Didrachm from Delphi (Phocis) with obverse portrait of the goddess Demeter. c. 337–336 BCE. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

What we have seen thus far regarding the iconographic attributes indicates that these coin images of Hellenistic royal women were influenced by those of the goddesses Hera, Aphrodite and Demeter, who all had a long tradition of visual

representation in a variety of media produced by Greek culture. From the examples presented here, there is a tangible connection between the iconographic repertoire of goddesses and the iconography that became standard for Hellenistic queens, dead and deified at first, followed by a number of living queens in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE. As we shall see, such divinely inspired iconographic attributes, in particular the veil, sceptre and stephane, were also employed to varying degrees in numismatic and sculptural representations of Livia.

To summarize my discussion on these first numismatic portraits of women, we have seen that such portraits of both men and women were adapted from the iconographical and stylistic repertoires that had been developed for representing gods and goddesses. Yet at the same time these portraits incorporated visual elements, such as individualizing facial features and hairstyles, indicating that a person was being represented rather than a god. While there were some specific stylistic elements that set one kingdom's portraits apart from another, there were similarities in iconographical attributes and to some extent hairstyles and adornment which indicate that images developed in a common artistic tradition. At this point it must be assumed that specific portrait styles, in particular standardized divine versus individualized realistic portrait features, were each incorporated into the portraits of Hellenistic queens in order to convey the high status and various religious, social and political roles they played in their society. The presence of these various styles has been duly noted in the sculptural medium.⁴⁷ However, the numismatic portraits of Hellenistic queens are better preserved than sculptural ones and provide a more comprehensive record of the various styles produced for individual queens. However, no detailed study of portraits on Hellenistic royal coinage has been conducted,⁴⁸ which once completed will shed more light on the issues presented here and others. As will be demonstrated in the next section of this chapter, these Hellenistic portrait traditions made a significant impact on the development of Roman portraits of women during the late Republic especially with respect to their appearance on coins.

Roman republican precursors: traditions of numismatic commemoration and self-representation

The study of the commemoration of Roman women during the Republican period has only recently garnered the attention of scholars. However, the focus has been mainly on sculptural representations of women while coin images, which are limited yet significant, have been mentioned mostly in passing. Prior to the appearance of the first living Roman women on coins, posthumous images of Roman women appeared in coins and other media such as sculpture, albeit very rarely until towards the end of the Republic. The influence of Hellenistic Greek traditions can be traced in the image types developed for the visual representation of Roman women.⁴⁹ Despite these Hellenistic inspirations, the Romans employed image elements that were undeniably Roman and communicated Roman identity

and virtues. What follows will examine the beginnings of the coin images of Roman women in the context of the sculptural and numismatic art traditions in which they were developed.

First of all, it is important to discuss briefly the sculptural traditions that existed for the representation of Roman women during the Republic. Since the early years of the Roman Republic and perhaps even earlier, Roman nobility used portraits or masks called *imagines* to commemorate ancestors who had achieved political or military distinction.⁵⁰ Ancient literary sources tell us that the practice of setting up public honorific statues in Rome was in effect at least as early as the mid-4th century BCE when the Senate set up equestrian statues in honour of the consuls Camillus and Maenius for their military accomplishments.⁵¹ The production of portrait images continued to progress and develop in Roman culture down to the time of the late Republic and beyond due to the need to promote oneself and remain competitive in Roman society both socially and politically.

Contrary to the Greek East, the appearance of women in publicly commissioned commemorative art was exceedingly rare in Republican Rome. There is some literary and epigraphic evidence that publicly decreed honourific statues of women were erected in Rome during this time and perhaps even prior. Ancient Roman authors, most notably Pliny the Elder, refers to Republican statues of Roman women, such as Cloelia and Tarpeia, who were perhaps more mythical than real historical figures.⁵² Cloelia appears to have been accorded an equestrian statue in honour of her heroic escape from captivity when she and other Roman girls were given as hostages to the Etruscan king Lars Porsenna as part of a peace treaty with Rome (506 BCE).⁵³ A statue was dedicated to the Vestal Virgin Taracia (Fufetia) in recognition of her donation of the *campus Tiberinus* to the city of Rome.⁵⁴ Also, ancient sources indicate that statues of famous Roman women, such as Quinta Claudia (who received the cult of Magna Mater into Rome) and Cornelia (mother of the Gracchi), may have been set up in Rome as early as the mid-2nd century BCE.⁵⁵ Not long after this time statues of female relatives of Roman magistrates began to appear in the provinces of the Greek east, set up by the local public assemblies to gain favour from their Roman rulers.⁵⁶ These statues not only commemorated the relationship of these women to their important male relatives,⁵⁷ but also acknowledged them as benefactors who had contributed substantial sums of money for public works while at the same time honouring their traditional female virtues such as modesty, chastity and devotion to husband and family.⁵⁸ Julia, the daughter of Caesar, may have been commemorated by a public statue in the Campus Martius around the time of her death in 54 BCE.⁵⁹ Scholars see these honourific statues as indicative of the private domestic sphere of women having come to overlap with public political life, thereby venturing into territory traditionally dominated by men.⁶⁰ In contrast to publicly commissioned works of art, there were numerous examples of the depiction of women in private art during the late Republican period, particularly funerary monuments.⁶¹

In the last two centuries of the Republic the need for the promotion of one's social and political status became tantamount to the advancement and success of

those in the elite classes. The conveyance of a senatorial elite family's political and military distinction required the utilization of a high-status medium such as sculpture and other monuments. However, statues were somewhat limited in their communicative ability due to their static nature. While the Romans originally adopted coinage as a medium of economic exchange, they eventually came to appreciate and exploit to the full the highly mobile and visually dynamic nature of coins, a medium on which images could be generated in a rather short period of time and then widely circulated.

Rome began producing its own coins – in the tradition of Greek coinage – at the end of the 4th century BCE.⁶² The mint of Rome was administered by the *triumviri monetales*, a board of three mint magistrates or “moneyers”. Responsible for the design and issue of the coins, they were appointed by the consuls, who often chose relatives or clients to fill the positions.⁶³ The choice of types for early Republican coins was quite conservative, adhering to traditional types that promoted Roma, the female personification of the Roman city-state and other key gods and goddesses of Rome's pantheon. Around the beginning of the 2nd century BCE, moneyers began promoting themselves, placing their names on Roman silver denarii.⁶⁴ Towards the end of that century, the limits of self-promotion were pushed further when much more explicit coin types were issued which used not only the family name, but also commemorated famed ancestors or gods associated with their respective *gentes*.⁶⁵ One example, a denarius issued by moneyer C. Minucius Augurinus in 135 BCE, recalls his family's connection with a significant grain distribution carried out by his ancestor L. Minucius,⁶⁶ while another issued by M. Caecilius Q.f. Q.n. Metellus in 127 BCE commemorates the Macedonian victory in 148 BCE by the moneyer's father Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus through the depiction of a Macedonian shield.⁶⁷ As early as the 80s BCE portraits of historically significant ancestors began to appear. A coin type of L. Titurius L.f. Sabinus from 89 BCE bore the portrait of Tatius, legendary king of the Sabines.⁶⁸ In 54 BCE, the moneyer Q. Pompeius Rufus commemorated his paternal and maternal grandfathers – Q. Pompeius Rufus (consul 88 BCE) and L. Cornelius Sulla (also consul in 88) – which marked the first time the portraits of Romans of more recent history appeared, albeit posthumously.⁶⁹

The use of coin types for the commemoration of important Roman historical events and people, and the distinguished Roman families connected to them, continued to develop during the period of the late Roman Republic (c. 100 BCE to the reign of Augustus), a tumultuous time in Rome's history, fraught with power struggles between the elite families of Rome. The last decades of the Republic saw civil wars between Rome's most powerful military leaders including Julius Caesar versus Pompey the Great, and Marc Antony versus Octavian. Eventually, the freedom to choose the diverse types of Roman Republican coins was usurped by these men for the purpose of self-promotion. During these campaigns to gain supreme governing authority over Rome and its growing empire, the contenders took advantage of coins as the most effective medium for promoting themselves as icons of power. The exploitation of an individual's prestige through coin

imagery culminated in 44 BCE when Julius Caesar, having achieved supremacy in Rome and control of the mints,⁷⁰ became the first living person to have his portrait minted on Roman coins. Within a year after his assassination, both Marc Antony and Octavian followed Caesar's lead and began issuing coins with their own portraits.⁷¹

The scope of individual representation on coins extended even further when the portraits of important women appeared on them in the late 40s BCE, beginning with the important women in Antony's life, namely his wives Fulvia and Octavia, and eventually his consort in power the Ptolemaic queen Cleopatra VII. This innovation marked these women unequivocally as having a place in the public realm of Roman politics and ideology, thereby becoming symbols of the power and authority Antony had gained through these relationships. Furthermore, there are indications that these women were beginning to have power and influence in their own right, a matter to be discussed further in later chapters of this book. Eventually, female members of Rome's imperial families were portrayed as key players in the perpetuation of dynasty.

Coin portraits for Roman women developed in part along the lines of Hellenistic Greek numismatic portrait traditions for the representation of royal women, particularly in the rendering of facial features and eventually hairstyles. Nonetheless, Roman iconographic elements persisted to facilitate the communication of Roman identity and Roman socio-political ideals. By the time a Roman woman first appeared on coins in 43/2 BCE, there had been several references to women on Roman coins, although these women were not living and were acknowledged simply as part of a mint magistrate's noble past. The moneyer L. Titurius Sabinus in 89–88 BCE issued silver denarii commemorating his Sabine past. One denarius issued depicts the legendary rape of the Sabine women, as well as the killing of Tarpeia, the woman who revealed to the Sabine men a secret way into the Roman citadel when they came to avenge the capture of their women.⁷² A denarius of 58 BCE issued by M. Aemilius Lepidus (Figure 1.11), the future co-triumvir with Antony and Octavian, depicts the perhaps illusory portrait of a female ancestor on the obverse, the Vestal Aemilia, who was the mother of Romulus and Remus according to one variant of the myth concerning the foundation of Rome.⁷³ This portrait echoes those of Ptolemaic queens (compare to Figure 1.3 and Figure 1.4), and Romans would not have been lost on the matronly significance of the *palla* or veil worn by the figure here.⁷⁴ These coins simply convey images of women in Rome's mythological past rather than telling us anything specific about the roles of women at the time when the coins were issued. However, the latter coin is an example of a Roman magistrate who wanted to promote his family's distinguished ancestry via a distant female relation who played a role in the foundation of Rome.

Fulvia as Victoria

A strong case can be made that the first living Roman woman to have her portrait placed on coins was Fulvia (c. 84–40 BCE), third wife of Marc Antony. The



Figure 1.11 AR Denarius of M. Aemilius Lepidus from Rome with obverse portrait of the Vestal Aemilia. 58 BCE. Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 1.12 AR Denarius of Marc Antony from Lugdunum (Gaul) with obverse portrait of Fulvia as Victoria. 43 BCE. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

obverses of several coins show a bust of a female as the personification Victoria, but with very individualized portrait features, which has prompted some to identify this figure as Fulvia. The first coins depicting potential portraits of Fulvia were silver quinarii issued in 43 BCE at the mint of Lugdunum (Figure 1.12), around the same time Antony had become governor of Gallia Comata and Cisalpine Gaul.⁷⁵ Later, around 41 BCE the mint of Rome issued an aureus under the moneyer C. Numonius Vaala which depicts an obverse image somewhat similar to that found

at Lugdunum. Around that same time (41–40 BCE), the Phrygian city of Eumeneia which had recently been renamed “Fulvia”, issued bronze coins similarly depicting Fulvia as Victoria.⁷⁶

The obverse of the aureus issued in Rome by the moneyer C. Numonius Vaala depicts a female bust with wings behind, an attribute of the goddess Victoria (Figure 1.13). The features of the face and iconographical elements are those of an individual as opposed to a goddess, who is often depicted as a flawless beauty and with signature divine attributes. The portrait features of the figure on the Vaala coin, a promising candidate for a representation of Fulvia, are not illustrative of divine perfection. For example, the facial features of this portrait type are fleshier than what we typically see for a goddess. The cheeks are fuller, and she even sports a double-chin. The neck has the so-called “Venus rings”, the fine wrinkles which circle the neck. Her nose also has a very significant ridge or bump, while the lips are thinner and more pursed than plump. The hair of the figure is of the distinctive Roman *nodus* style, the hairstyle preferred for and by the Roman matron, which confidently identifies the figure as a Roman woman, since this hairstyle is not found in Roman goddess portraits.⁷⁷ This hairstyle is generally characterized by the signature knot or bulge of hair atop the forehead with the remaining hair pulled back in waves into a chignon at the back of the head. Finally, neither jewelery nor drapery is visible. Such adornment is absent from all the supposed coin representations of Fulvia.

The fact that this image represents a woman as opposed to a goddess is readily obvious when one compares the Fulvia as Victoria coins with earlier Republican issues depicting the goddess, which were issued at various times from around



Figure 1.13 AV Aureus of C. Numonius Vaala from Rome with obverse portrait of Fulvia as Victoria. c. 41 BCE. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 1.14 AR Denarius of T. Carisius from Rome with obverse portrait of Victoria. c. 46 BCE. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

108 to 46–45 BCE (Figure 1.14).⁷⁸ On many of these coins the goddess Victoria is shown with wide eyes that gaze strikingly forward. The nose line usually extends straight down from the forehead and lips appear slightly plump and pursed. Concerning hairstyle, the coiffure is one commonly featured on goddess portraits. The hair is pulled back into a bun or wavy ponytail and wrapped into waves along the sides of the head from which small ringlets extend. She most often appears to wear earrings and a beaded necklace with the drapery of clothing visible just below it. The hairstyle and jewelry were the customary attributes of goddesses.

Despite the evidence pointing towards the potential positive identification of this figure as Fulvia, it should be noted that there is debate among scholars as to whether the figure can be confidently identified as Fulvia. The key concern is that there are no surviving identifiable portraits of Fulvia in other media, whether sculpture or cameos, to compare the coins to.⁷⁹ Some scholars such as Grueber feel that it is unlikely that Fulvia should grace such coins, since Antony himself had not yet received such an honour.⁸⁰ However, the mint in Gallia Cisalpina and Transalpina began issuing coins with the portrait of Antony in 43 BCE, with the mint of Rome following soon after in 42 BCE.⁸¹ Some have also argued that depending on the dating of the coins, in particular the coin issued by the moneyer Vaala and the one issued by the Phrygian city Eumeneia, the portrait could be that of Octavia rather than Fulvia.⁸² Furthermore, while many such as Wood acknowledge that the portrait does sport individualized features, she argues that these coins could be just presenting a subtly individualized Victoria rather than Fulvia.⁸³ Weir has correctly pointed out that each of these suspected Fulvia

portraits on coins issued by the Lugdunum, Rome and Eumeneia mints all have differing facial features, but that the Lugdunum ones and the Eumeneia ones do have some similarities.⁸⁴ Further to this, a reverse female portrait on a bronze coin of Tripolis dating to 42–41 BCE has facial features that are strikingly similar to the Victoria figure on the Vaala coin of Rome. The presence of Antony's portrait on the obverse of the Tripolis coin, along with striking similarities between the reverse female portrait and that of the Vaala coin of Rome, makes the identification of these two female portraits as Fulvia quite certain.⁸⁵ This Tripolis Fulvia coin portrait also wears a hairstyle later worn in a portrait type of Livia herself: the Marbury Hall.⁸⁶

I hesitate to dismiss Fulvia outright as a candidate for the portraits represented on these coins not only due to the highly individualized features, but also on account of the other contextual evidence that is in play making a connection between this figure and Fulvia highly plausible. First of all, assimilation of individuals to divine figures was not without precedent, as has been shown in the earlier Hellenistic coins depicting royal women with divine attributes such as the stephane of Hera and the sceptre of Isis (see Figure 1.7). In addition, coins issued by Sextus Pompeius depicted his father Pompey the Great, now deceased, with the attributes and features of the gods Ianus and Neptune.⁸⁷ Later on Roman women would at times be depicted with the attributes of some goddess or personification, as in the case of Livia as Hera on provincial coins, which I will discuss later in this book. Secondly, the reverses of the Fulvia coins from Lugdunum show a lion walking, with one example also bearing Antony's name and his age in Roman numerals XLI. Kleiner notes that the lion may be a reference to Antony's birth sign Leo.⁸⁸ Thus, the connection between the obverse and reverse figures would not be lost on the viewer, particularly those Roman soldiers who would have been paid with these coins. In addition, the renaming of the city Eumeneia to Fulvia was an exceptional and unprecedented honour, referred to by the reverse legend on these coins: ΦΟΥΛΟΥΙΑΝΩΝ, "of/belonging to the Fulvianians".⁸⁹ Lastly, and perhaps not all that striking, is the fact that Antony himself appears to have been connected to a god through physical appearance. There exists an intriguing silver denarius issued in 42 BCE by a mint moving in the east with Antony that has a portrait of Antony on the obverse and one of Sol on the reverse that looks strikingly like Antony.⁹⁰ Therefore, it is highly plausible that a similar assimilation could have been made for the indirect, unnamed representation of Fulvia as Victoria on coins. Even if the engraver/authority behind the designing of these coins may not have intended the portrait to explicitly represent Fulvia, these other contextual factors make it highly plausible that ancient viewers of the coins may have recognized the portrait as, or at the very least associated it with, Fulvia. Such issues surrounding positive identifications of female coin portraits will be discussed further in the following chapters dealing with Livia's numismatic visual repertoire and similar issues that exist regarding the identification and interpretation of coin images as Livia.

Still the question remains as to why the figure was represented with no accompanying legend to explicitly label it. The appearance of a man's name and portrait on the coins was still very new (Caesar was the first in 44 BCE). For a woman to be so boldly represented on mass-produced public media such as coinage would in a sense make official and even legitimize her public role, potentially putting her within the sphere of influence inhabited by powerful men of state. Therefore, the lack of identifying legend would have allowed for a multiplicity of interpretations including Victoria, Fulvia, or perhaps some other Roman woman and may have been employed to "test the waters" to see how such an individualized depiction of a woman on coins would be received.

If we assume for the moment that these coin portraits represent Fulvia, what is the significance of this Fulvia as Victoria type and why would it have been issued? There is evidence that Fulvia was an influential woman who showed leadership and was involved in military affairs while in Gaul. She played an active role in the management of Antony's politics after he had taken charge of affairs in the East. She supported his cause in Italy by joining his brother Lucius in opposing Octavian during the Perusine War in which she had considerable political and military influence.⁹¹ Her military prowess is further related by Cassius Dio who claims that when she went to Praeneste with her children, she armed herself with a sword and issued military orders.⁹² If Fulvia was acting on her husband's behalf during his absence from Italy by becoming involved in the military affairs such as the Perusine War, perhaps the coin portraits of Fulvia as Victoria were a reflection of the political influence she had amongst the troops and magistrates loyal to Antony.

Regardless, Fulvia's political and military activities paved the way for Roman women's role in the public sphere.⁹³ It was initially Antony who felt it especially politically advantageous to exploit his relationship with his wives, since both of his subsequent wives, Octavia and Cleopatra, were commemorated on coinage.⁹⁴ Octavia, the sister of Octavian – Antony's fellow triumvir and colleague in power – , was the next woman to hold a place on coinage. It is important to note that coins presenting Octavia were only issued in the Greek East, while the mint of Rome was silent concerning her. Nevertheless, her depiction on coinage was much more explicit than that of Fulvia, and her portrayal helped to set the standard by which future empresses would be promoted through coinage.

Octavia: Roman matron and Antony's divine consort

Late in 40 BCE and after Fulvia's death, Antony and Octavian met in Brundisium to renegotiate the conditions of their alliance known to history as the Second Triumvirate. The machinations of Fulvia and Antony's brother Lucius against Octavian had left the alliance in a very delicate situation. As part of their reconciliation and to "seal the deal", Octavian arranged for his sister Octavia to marry

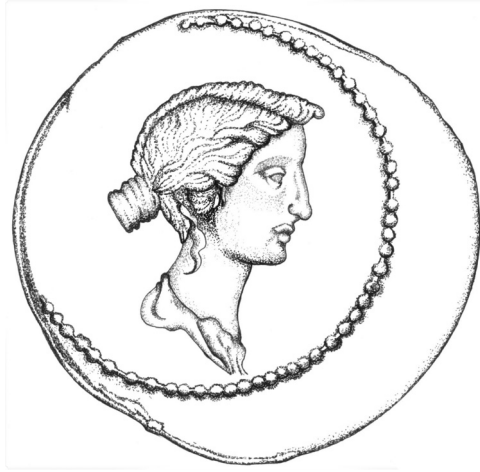


Figure 1.15 Illustration of gold aureus of Marc Antony with reverse portrait of Octavia. c. 39–37 BCE. Original coin located at the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Drawing by Carrie Allen.

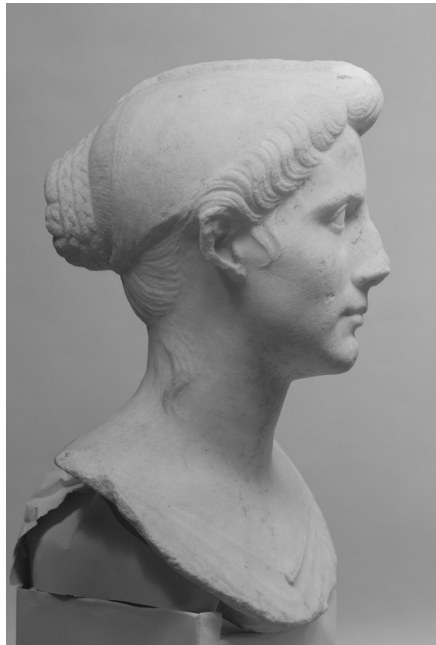


Figure 1.16 Sculptural portrait of Octavia (side profile) from Velletri. c. 35 BCE. Currently in Museo Nazionale Romano.

Source: D-DAI-ROM 40.1180.

Antony. To commemorate the marriage, mints moving with Antony in the Greek East from 39–37 BCE issued a gold aureus depicting Antony's portrait along with his titles on the obverse, while the reverse bears a beautifully executed portrait of Octavia (Figure 1.15). Here, the portrait is arranged in profile facing right and framed by a circular border of dots. The figure wears the *nodus* hairstyle, symbolic of Roman matron status. The bottom of the neck shows a small portion of the drapery of her garment. The woman in this coin portrait is not endowed with any divine attributes, which immediately rules out the possibility that this figure represents, or is associated with, a specific goddess.

As in the Fulvia portrait, the facial features in this coin portrait of Octavia are individualized. She appears as a youthful beauty (she was about 29–30 years old at the time). She has a slight forehead. Her eyes are partially opened in a natural gaze, while the nose extends with a slight outward curve from the forehead, has a slight bump and extends down to a delicate and dainty tip with clearly defined nostrils. The lips are thin and pursed and the chin is small and slightly pointed. The jaw line, neck and defined cheeks exude a gentle fullness demonstrative of her youth and beauty. The neck demonstrates the slight appearance of “Venus” rings.

While this coin portrait of Octavia lacks an identifying legend, identification as Octavia can be secured with high degree of certainty by comparing it to Octavia's surviving portraits in other media, a fortunate circumstance that Fulvia's coin portraits do not share. A comparison of this coin portrait with a sculptural portrait of Octavia from Velletri (Figure 1.16) bears a strong enough resemblance to deduce that the woman depicted on this coin is Octavia.⁹⁵ Thus, some could argue that this coin, as opposed to the coins of Fulvia as Victoria, marks the first time a living Roman woman makes an appearance on coins. However, Wood points out that the coins of Octavia often have been used for identifying her sculptural portraits given that the few that survive have at times been associated with Livia given their similarity.⁹⁶ Thus, more than the likeness of a coin portrait to a sculptural portrait or vice versa is needed to identify individuals depicted on them.

Resemblance between family members seems to have also been used in portrait composition over multiple media, a factor that must be considered here regarding Octavia's numismatic portraits. Scholars have noted this phenomenon in the sculptural medium and it may have been employed in coin portraits as well.⁹⁷ The likeness in physiognomy shared between royal women and their male relatives had been seen on coins of Hellenistic royals, and came to be employed on the coins of Antony with his wives, first Octavia and then Cleopatra, the goal being to promote familial relations with a strong leaning towards promotion of dynasty.⁹⁸ The identification of coin portraits of Octavia can be strengthened further by comparing it to coin portraits of Octavia's male family members, Octavian and Antony. The facial features of Octavia on the aureus described earlier demonstrate a clear resemblance to those of contemporary numismatic portraits of Octavian (Figure 1.17). A comparison shows that both have defined, youthful



Figure 1.17 AR Denarius from uncertain mint with obverse portrait of Octavian. 39 BCE. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

and delicate facial features. Octavian also has the small ridge on the nose and defined cheek bones. They both have the small lips and the slightly pointed chin, and their eyes are similarly shaped. In the following year 38 BCE, another aureus was issued under Antony's authority in which Octavia's portrait assumes facial features which more closely resemble Antony as opposed to Octavian.⁹⁹ Here, Octavia's nose, chin and eyes look strikingly similar to Antony's. Her appearance is also full and fleshy like Antony's. She still wears the nodus hairstyle, although it is slightly varied from that depicted on the aureus the year before. Such resemblance was part of the visual code designed for Octavia, which further emphasized her marriage to Antony and its political significance as the glue holding together the alliance between Antony and Octavian. It is remarkable that the bond between Octavia and Antony, and between Octavia and Octavian, was summarized in these images through semblance of features even though they likely did not look much alike in reality.

In addition to familial resemblance in coin portraits, Octavia's role in securing the alliance between Antony and Octavian was promoted through coin types in which Octavia's portrait was arranged in close proximity to those of her male counterparts on the same side of a coin. The purpose of such numismatic portrait arrangements was to highlight her close relationship to these men, which at the same time promoted Octavia's unprecedented socio-political status and influence. The most popular portrait arrangement was the jugate-style. This portrait arrangement was employed extensively in Ptolemaic Egypt and other parts of the

Hellenistic world where royal couples were viewed as essential to the harmony and stability of the state. The arrangement usually has the male portrait partially superimposed over the female portrait with both portraits facing right. Also, one can readily see a family resemblance through the obvious facial features shared by both portraits. While Wood argues that such resemblance may have been done simply as a matter of convenience on the part of die-engravers,¹⁰⁰ nonetheless the close connection between the two figures depicted and their identity would not have been lost on the viewer.

This jugate style portrait mode was adopted for Antony and Octavia on the obverses of silver cistophoric coins issued at the mint of Miletus (or possibly Ephesus) around 39 BCE (Figure 1.18).¹⁰¹ Antony's portrait is superimposed over that of Octavia. He is depicted wearing the ivy wreath which associates him with his patron god Dionysus. Octavia is seen behind him with the front part of her nodus coiffure still visible. Her facial features strongly resemble those of Antony and the placement of her image behind her husband relegates her to the secondary, yet supportive position of the wife.¹⁰² It is important to note that the jugate portrait format was later employed by the mint of Ephesus for depicting Augustus alongside Livia.

In contrast to the coin just described, coins were issued at unknown mints, but most likely in Asia, which portray Octavia in an unprecedented and innovative way as having a status almost equal to her male family members. A bronze sestertius of Antony issued around 37–36 BCE by an uncertain Achaean



Figure 1.18 AR Cistophorus from Miletus (or Ephesus) (Asia) with obverse jugate portraits of Marc Antony and Octavia. 39 BCE. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.



Figure 1.19 AE Sestertius from an uncertain Achaean mint with obverse portraits of Antony and Octavia facing each other. Reverse image of Antony and Octavia as divine couple Neptune and Amphitrite, c. 37–36 BCE. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

mint (Figure 1.19) depicts on its obverse the portraits of Antony and Octavia facing each other, while the reverse supposedly shows the loving couple as Neptune and Amphitrite¹⁰³ embracing each other as they ride in a quadriga drawn by hippocamps. This coin type is quite bold in that it implies that Antony and Octavia are equal partners in a marriage that had profound political implications. Similarly, a bronze tressis (Figure 1.20) issued at approximately the same time depicts on its obverse the jugate portraits of Antony and Octavian (Antony is in the foreground) facing right towards a portrait of Octavia facing left. Here, Octavia's position seems quite exclusive and alludes to her role as mediator in the alliance between Antony and Octavian.¹⁰⁴ In 37 BCE, Octavia assisted in the negotiations which led to the Pact of Tarentum in which Antony provided Octavian with ships from his fleet in return for legionaries for Antony's Parthian campaign.¹⁰⁵ Octavia was the first Roman woman of status to be depicted in certain Hellenistic modes such as jugate with the portrait of her husband Marc Antony or face to face with him. The purpose of these portrait configurations in the Hellenistic context was to communicate the ideology of the divine royal couple, as evident in the numismatic portrait images of Hellenistic kings and their wives from the Ptolemies to the Seleucids. In the case of Antony and Octavia, who were depicted only on coins issued in the Hellenistic Greek regions of the Roman Empire, such male-female numismatic portrait configurations not only were in line with Hellenistic traditions, but also became a means for Antony to advance himself politically through his wives,¹⁰⁶ albeit with somewhat royal connotations.



Figure 1.20 AE Tressis from an uncertain Achaean mint with obverse portraits of Antony and Octavian jugate facing portrait of Octavia. c. 38–37 BCE. Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Courtesy of Art Resource, NY.

Similarly to Fulvia in the guise of Victoria, coins also presented Octavia as connected to the mythological and divine. In addition to the reference to Antony's association with Neptune, his affinity to Dionysus was more prolific and is well attested in art and literature, with coins making statements in this regard as well.¹⁰⁷ A silver cistophorus issued at Ephesus in 39 BCE shows a connection between Antony, Octavia and Dionysus through the representation of their portraits with religious symbols sacred to the cult of the god.¹⁰⁸ While the obverse of the coin depicts Antony wreathed and surrounded by Dionysian ivy, the reverse shows a diminutive version of Octavia's portrait situated above a cista mystica (sacred box) with snakes coiling up on either side. Both the cista mystica and the snakes were objects sacred to Dionysus. The Dionysiac references on both this cistophorus and the one mentioned in Figure 1.18 were possibly designed to associate Antony with Dionysus and Octavia with one of the god's consorts, namely Ariadne.¹⁰⁹ Although Octavia's portrait is small it is still identifiable by means of the nodus coiffure, facial features and overall shape which resemble those of the portrait depicted on the aureus mentioned earlier (Figure 1.15). Regardless of her secondary position on these coins, she still maintains her status as a key player in the alliance between Antony and Octavian, while at the same time being clearly associated with Antony's divine ideology.

Even though Octavia's image is easily identified on these coins as a result of standardized iconographic features, such as her nodus hairstyle or her resemblance to male relatives, she is never referred to by name.¹¹⁰ In contrast, her male

counterparts are always readily depicted with corresponding nomenclature. The consistent presence of Octavian's and Antony's names on the coins marked them as the legal issuing and ruling authority. The absence of Octavia's name could imply a desire for a degree of ambiguity to linger given that the commemoration of women on such official media was still quite new, and perhaps perceived as bold by some. But visually speaking Octavia's portrait images make slim the possibility that they could have been perceived as anyone else. The presence of Octavia's portrait on coins acknowledged her evident socio-political influence in imperial Roman society, and Antony wanted people to know it. There is a strong possibility that Antony had a direct influence in the design of these types, considering Octavia as a way of expressing and promoting his own power and political influence.¹¹¹ It is important to keep in mind also that none of these coin types, with perhaps the exception of the Vaala coin with Victoria as Fulvia, were issued by the senatorial run mint in Rome, which possibly had reservations about promoting women to such a position of status via a media machine such as coinage. After all, the coins issued in Rome at this time were likely still considered the primary vehicle by which senators promoted their historically distinguished families and the political interests of the state. Nevertheless, it is plausible that the absence of a Roman woman's name made the statement that her status extended from her male relatives only, thereby making her nomenclature unnecessary. A Roman woman would not be explicitly named on coins of the mint of Rome until the reign of the emperor Caligula, who commemorated his sisters and his mother by name and image.¹¹²

Signature symbols and standard types: early images of women on coins

Thus far, I have traced the development of the visual representation of women on coins from the first numismatic portraits of Hellenistic queens to the inaugural appearance of a Roman woman on the coins of the late Republic. The commemoration of women on coins clearly began with the Ptolemaic queens of Egypt, who were depicted with a fusion of divine and non-divine elements just as their male counterparts. The purpose of this amalgamation of iconographic elements was to make the individuals from ruling royal families readily recognizable to their subjects, while at the same time marking their status and position in society as distinct and definable along visual terms. To a degree, such was the case with the first coins depicting living Roman women, but at the same time elements of Roman distinctiveness readily can be seen, from the nodus hairstyle to the individualized facial features to the lack of identifying legend (peculiar to female portraits only). Before proceeding on to the focus of this book, the numismatic representations of Livia, I would first like to summarize the patterns of representation and symbols that would shape the numismatic visual repertoire designed and employed for Livia.

Facial features: idealized representations or true likenesses?

An important matter that needs to be addressed here, and in the subsequent chapter on the designs of the coin images of Livia, is the lack of consistency from coin to coin in the facial features rendered in the numismatic portraits, as we have seen in the numismatic portraits of Fulvia and Octavia. In some respects, this variation may seem to be in contrast to the numismatic portraits of Hellenistic queens, in particular the Ptolemaic queens, where there is evidence and enough surviving examples to demonstrate that the image designers were aiming for a standardized ideal. Yet, even in the case of some Hellenistic queens, such as Ptolemaic queen Berenike II discussed earlier, coins from the same mint could demonstrate varying portrait styles, which can show marked contrast from one to another. This inconsistency begs the question of whether coin portraits were designed with the sole intention of being “true likenesses” of the individuals represented, or rather were they meant to be symbols (visual representations), some of which were more idealized than others.

Without giving away too much of my discussion on the issues surrounding the identification of Livia’s image on coins in Chapter 2, thus far my discussion of the numismatic portraits of Fulvia and Octavia reveals that it is highly plausible that sculptural portraits may have been used as models for the facial features and hairstyles of some of the numismatic portraits. Nevertheless, it is also apparent that die engravers employed various techniques for rendering female portrait features on coins, including the use of sculptural and numismatic portraits of their male relatives as models. We see such techniques especially in the numismatic portraits of Octavia, who at times resembles her brother Octavian and at others her husband Marc Antony. The other factor that must be considered is the varying degree of skills amongst the die engravers themselves and from mint to mint, which often results in a range of portrait styles and varying degrees of quality in numismatic portraits. While most scholars agree that the standard for portraits representing members of the ruling regime was established in Rome, as was the case during the Empire, die engravers, particularly those at provincial mints, may not always have had access to such models, or perhaps even the skills to render the facial features as precisely as they would like on such a small surface as a coin die. The fact that coins contained official messages of the issuing authority indicates that the coin portraits, whether “true” likenesses or not, were still intended to represent, and be perceived as, specific individuals. In all cases identification can be achieved through coin legends, other inscriptions, as well as historical and art historical contexts.

Another factor that must be considered is the argument that individualized facial features on coin portraits must indicate that an historical figure is depicted, which is the basis for the identification of Fulvia and Octavia on coins. While individualized features can certainly be an indicator that an actual person is being represented, especially when there are examples in other visual media to support them, the coins examined thus far from Hellenistic queens to Fulvia and Octavia,

clearly demonstrate that coin portraits were always idealized, some to a much higher degree than others. Examples of highly idealized coins include those of Hellenistic queens with an archaized style applied to their facial features and with an apparent lack of individuality, as well as instances where the women depicted have almost identical facial features to those of the men they are depicted with. Less idealized examples include those where women have more individualized facial features, but are idealized by way of the appearance of youthfulness, or on the other hand maturity. Sometimes the ideals of youth or maturity did not reflect reality, but were employed to communicate visual messages regarding the status and socio-political roles of the individual portrayed. Such stylistic modes, youthful and more mature/aged, could be found to varying degrees in the sculptural representations of Hellenistic Greek women.¹¹³ The facial features of Hellenistic royal women could be adapted to resemble those of their husbands and other male relatives to emphasize familial ties, stylized to give the notion of divine status, or masculinized to highlight their ruling authority. And, as we have seen, these stylistic modes were most certainly employed in the depiction of Hellenistic royal women on coins, a practice which persisted in the sculptural and numismatic portraits of Roman women.¹¹⁴

Hairstyles – nodus as symbol of the stately Roman matron

The nodus hairstyle, which had no Hellenistic or Etruscan forerunners, was worn by fashionable and distinguished Roman matrons in the late 1st century BCE. It is thus named on account of the sort of knot or bulge of hair which rests upon the top of the forehead and from which often extends a plait of hair or braid that runs lengthwise along the centre of the crown of the head. The remainder of the hair is swept into a bun or chignon at the back, or a series of braids placed into a bun. This particular style emerged rather suddenly in the 40s BCE¹¹⁵ and continued to be popular well into the Augustan age. The fact that it was worn by women of diverse social strata marked it as a potent cultural symbol of Rome itself – a badge of Romanness.¹¹⁶ Just as the toga was the principle garment of the freeborn Roman male, the nodus was the mark of the Roman matron.

The numismatic portraits of Fulvia and Octavia sport an early version of this signature hairstyle, which incorporates a nodus made by folding forward and twisting two sections of hair back along the crown and then making several smaller braids that wrap into a chignon at the back of the head.¹¹⁷ Fulvia's numismatic portrait hairstyle varies in that there appears to be a braid rather than a folding of the hair running along the crown of the head. Bartman notes that the presence of this hairstyle indicates a mortal woman,¹¹⁸ which strengthens the identification of both Fulvia and Octavia, and later Livia too, on coins. This hairstyle can also be found in sculptural portraits of other Roman women of the time.¹¹⁹ Thus, as we shall see, the style was also used extensively on

the numismatic portraits of Livia, and reflected also in the numerous variants found in her sculptural repertoire.

A notable absence of attributes and adornment?

The numismatic images developed for the depiction of Hellenistic royal women have shown that portrait styles and iconographic elements were employed for the purposes of conveying specific messages concerning the ideological, socio-political and religious roles these women held in society. Iconographic attributes such as the sceptre of Isis and the stephane of Hera linked these women with key divine figures thereby highlighting their roles as wives and mothers with an air of ruling authority. Hellenistic queens are also often seen wearing jewelery including earrings and necklace, which further connects them to these goddesses, while at the same time indicating their status and wealth within society.

In contrast, the first numismatic portraits of Roman women demonstrate a marked absence of such finery, except for perhaps one where Octavia may be wearing a necklace (Figure 1.19). This particular coin was issued at an unknown Achaean mint, where the Hellenistic tradition of portraying women with such adornment was still considered normal practice. The lack of jewelery and other adornment including headdress such as the stephane and other crowns, continued to be the norm for the depiction of Roman women on coins throughout the time of Augustus and the Julio-Claudian emperors, although such was the case mainly on coins from the mint of Rome while various mints of the provinces took it upon themselves to provide their own interpretations of the types issued in Rome. Such interpretations included adornment and the addition of attributes linking Livia and the imperial women who succeeded her to goddesses such as Juno and Ceres.

The numismatic and sculptural portraits of Roman women produced during the late Republic and, as we shall see, during the time of Livia remained virtually free of all adornment. The reason for this simple, yet elegant rendering of numismatic portraits of Roman women of status, was to maintain the ideal of *pudicitia* (modesty) expected of all Roman matrons,¹²⁰ and to avoid the appearance of extravagance that to the Romans was a mark of Hellenistic affluence. Throughout the Republic, the over-indulgence in finery of dress and adornment among Roman women, in particular the ostentatious display of wealth, was very much discouraged and even legislated against under the Oppian Law of 215 BCE, a law later repealed in 195 BCE once the hardships brought on by the Second Punic War had passed.¹²¹ Olson and others have demonstrated that Romans, in particular the citizen men, saw female adornment as a repository for social anxiety regarding female wealth and power, as well as foreign luxury.¹²² Over-adornment could even be seen as highly un-Roman given that silks and jewels often were imported, thus lining the pockets of foreign merchants and craftsmen.¹²³ During Livia's own time such extravagance was frowned upon first by Augustus, and then by her son and Augustus's successor Tiberius.¹²⁴

Thus, Livia's visual image, including that found in the numismatic medium, needed to advocate the ongoing ideal of *pudicitia*, for which Livia was considered a model by contemporary poet Ovid.¹²⁵ Livia's numismatic image in Rome, although rare, adhered to the standard lack of adornment, while the provinces took some liberties in this regard from time to time.

Conclusion

The development of the visual programme used for the depiction of Roman women on coins can be seen as having found inspiration and models in the numismatic portrayals of Hellenistic women. As we shall see, the vast majority of coins depicting Livia were issued in the provinces, particularly in the Hellenistic Greek East. The explicit presentation of a Roman woman's portrait on coins of the imperial mint at Rome would not take place until the appearance of Livia's portrait on a coin of 22–23 CE, almost halfway through the reign of her son Tiberius, although there are a couple of examples from the reign of Augustus that could be Livia. The fact that the numismatic portraits of Roman women did not exclusively find their beginnings in Rome, but in the cities of the Hellenistic Greek east demands that their Hellenistic inspiration be recognized. Yet, as we have seen in the cases of both Fulvia and Octavia, visual elements were employed in their numismatic portraits which showed them to be distinctly Roman as opposed to having a semblance of the Hellenistic female prototypes. Such iconographical elements as the individualized facial features, the Roman nodus hairstyle, and the lack of adornment left no question as to their identity as Roman wives and matrons connected to powerful Roman men. The fusion of divine elements associated with goddesses along with distinctly Roman visual motifs became key visual elements in the design of Livia's image on coins of the mint of Rome, as well as those of the mints of the provinces. As shall be seen in the following chapters, Livia's images on Roman and provincial coins continued to be a fusion of Greek and Roman inspired visual elements used in a consciously designed visual repertoire that would define how imperial women were portrayed on coins.

Notes

- 1 *Roman Republican Coinage* (RRC), 480–481.
- 2 Pollini, *From Republic to Empire: Rhetoric, Religion, and Power in the Visual Culture of Ancient Rome*, 72. Here, Pollini notes an increase in the use of coinage for self-advertisement in the 130s BCE.
- 3 RRC, 514/1a.
- 4 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia: Imaging the Imperial Woman in Augustan Rome*, 58, n. 31. See also Toynbee, *Roman Historical Portraits*, 46–48, Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* I, 575, no. 4229, and Head, *A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum (BMC) Phrygia*, lxi, who doubt that the coin represents Fulvia. For further discussion on the subject of Fulvia's presence on these coins see section on Fulvia, p. 34ff.

- 5 Thompson, et al., *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*. Some examples include: Greece p. 51, no. 332; Macedonia p.86, no. 622 and p. 88, no. 643; Thrace p. 123, no. 958; Asia Minor p. 179, no. 1336, p. 183, no. 1384, and p. 199, no. 1477; Egypt p. 241, no. 1722. Note that some coin hoards also include Roman Republican coins.
- 6 According to Suetonius (*Aug.* 75), Augustus himself was known to have collected old regal coins. It is highly probable that these coins were of Hellenistic kings given that no “regal” coins were issued in Rome or Italy prior to the rise of Rome’s emperors. But, there were coins commemorating ancestral Roman kings issued by Rome’s mint magistrates, the *tresviri monetales*, during the Republic. Noteworthy examples include *RRC* 334/1 featuring King Numa Pompilius on the reverse, and *RRC* 346/1a which features the jugate portraits of Numa Pompilius and Ancus Marcius on the obverse. See also Pollini, *From Republic to Empire: Rhetoric, Religion, and Power in the Visual Culture of Ancient Rome*, 74.
- 7 Ashton, “The Hellenistic World: The Cities of Mainland Greece and Asia Minor”, 203.
- 8 *RRC*, 548/1.
- 9 Crawford, *RRC*, 544; Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 126; Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 68; Woytek, “The Denarius Coinage of the Roman Republic”, 319.
- 10 Pompey the Great’s portrait may have appeared on coins of Pompeiopolis (Asia Minor) as early as 66 BCE (*BMC Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia*, 15, no. 48), but Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 128 states the identification is not certain. Also, Caesar’s portrait had appeared on coins of Nicaea in 48/7 BCE (*BMC Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia and Kingdom of Bosphorus*, 153, no. 8) and Corinth in 46/4 BCE (*BMC Corinth*, 58, no. 485).
- 11 Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 46–47. See also Kroll, “The Emergence of Ruler Portraiture on Early Hellenistic Coins: The Importance of Being Divine”, 114–115.
- 12 King, “Roman Portraiture: Images of Power”, 126–127; Hill, “The Coin Portraiture of Severus and his Family from the Mint of Rome”, 36. Note King who points out that Michael Crawford argues that coin die engravers did not always have access to sculptural portrait models. More recently, see Beckmann, “The Relationship between Numismatic Portraits and Marble Busts: The Problematic Example of Faustina the Younger”, 39.
- 13 Kroll, “The Emergence of Ruler Portraiture on Early Hellenistic Coins”, 113 and 116–117. Here Kroll cites the coins of Ptolemy I and II as the earliest examples of such ruler coin portraits, noting the divine attributes that they bear linking those depicted with affiliate gods such as Zeus. Kroll has argued that despite the fact that Hellenistic Greek portrait sculpture continued very much in the stream of 5th and 4th century traditions, no such precedent existed for the portrayal of living men on coins except the convention of depicting the heads of gods on the obverses of coins.
- 14 Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*, 61–62, 104–105, 120–122, who discusses and provides examples of works that served as prototypes for portraits of women in the Greek world. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 46 and 48 mentions that the Hellenistic royal image was something fundamentally new to Greek portraiture, and that female portraits tend to be “. . . generalized mortal versions of the prevailing ideals worked out for goddesses”.
- 15 von den Hoff, “Naturalism and Classicism: style and perception in early Hellenistic portraits”, 55–57. von den Hoff provides several examples of portraits and literature illustrating this merging of stylistic features. See also Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 45–46, 49–50.
- 16 Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*, 111–114; Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 48. See also Sheila Dillon, “Female Portraiture in the Hellenistic Period”, 265–266, and Carney, *Arsinoë of Egypt and Macedon: A Royal Life*, 116–117.

- 17 Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*, 113–114; Kroll, “The Emergence of Ruler Portraiture on Early Hellenistic Coins”, 116–118 and 121; Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 46.
- 18 Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 41–42. Here, Smith refers to several examples where the aegis is used in portraits.
- 19 Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 13.
- 20 *BMC Ptolemies*, 94; Lorber, “The Coinage of the Ptolemies”, 213.
- 21 Osborne, *Archaic and Classical Greek Art*, 221–223. Osborne argues that such standardized/similar portrait features provided the benefits of the comparable achievements of the figures depicted to be conveyed. See also Dahmen, *The Legend of Alexander on Greek and Roman Coins*, 11.
- 22 See Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 164, nos. 46 and 47, plate 34. Note that Smith, 90 states that he thinks the portrait is of a man 35–40-years-old, but the hardness of the features and the fullness of the neck indicate an older man. See also Carney, *Arsinoë of Egypt and Macedon*, 121 who states that the coin depicts Ptolemy as middle-aged, and that the image is not one of “literal realism, but the appearance of it”. My interpretation of this coin portrait is that it is a close representation of how Ptolemy appeared when the coins were issued.
- 23 Kroll, “The Emergence of Ruler Portraiture on Early Hellenistic Coins”, 113 and 116.
- 24 Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 35–38 discusses the origins of the diadem as a symbol of royal status, but also its associations with the divine.
- 25 *Oxford Classical Dictionary (OCD)*⁴, s.v. “aegis”.
- 26 Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage from the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea*, 70; Carney, *Arsinoë of Egypt and Macedon*, 122.
- 27 Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage*, 93.
- 28 Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 65.
- 29 Dillon, “Portraits of Women in the Early Hellenistic Period”, 77.
- 30 Dillon, “Female Portraiture in the Hellenistic Period”, 263, and other works by Dillon cited herein.
- 31 Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 89–90 also states that it is at times difficult to distinguish royal women from “private” women, but criteria such as royal attributes, context and closeness of resemblance to a known coin type can aid in the identification of sculptural portraits of queens.
- 32 Carney, *Arsinoë of Egypt and Macedon*, 116; Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 48.
- 33 Svoronos, *Ta Nomismata tou Kratous ton Ptolemaion (Ptolemaic Coinage)*, 134, no. 962, accessed August 3, 2018. <http://www.coin.com/images/dr/svoronos/svc001p134t.html>. See also Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage*, 106.
- 34 Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 94.
- 35 Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 113.
- 36 *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Collection of the American Numismatic Society (SNG ANS)* 9, *Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins*, 981.
- 37 Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*, 82 and 126. Here, Dillon gives examples where women, such as Nikeso, priestess of Demeter, wore hairstyles in their sculptural portraits similar to goddesses, a sort of divine imitation that linked a woman to the goddess she served.
- 38 *BMC Seleucid Kings of Syria*, 85, no. 1.
- 39 *BMC Sicily*, 538ff.
- 40 *BMC Seleucid Kings of Syria*, 57, no. 1.
- 41 Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 48. See also Troxell, “Arsinoë’s Non-Era”, 59 and 61–62.
- 42 Dillon, “Portraits of Women in the Early Hellenistic Period”, 77. Dillon’s work of Hellenistic female portraits in sculpture shows that hairstyles were very similar to those found on coins.

- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Thompson, "A Portrait of Arsinoë Philadelphos", 199.
- 45 Angelova, *Sacred Founders: Women, Men and Gods in the Discourse of Imperial Founding, Rome through Early Byzantium*, 18–19; Nilsson, "The Crown of Arsinoë II: The Creation and Development of an Imagery of Authority", 241. Both authors note the desire of the Ptolemaic dynasty to promote their connection to Alexander the Great as a divine ancestor and founder of their dynasty, and that members of the Ptolemaic dynasty were worshipped, including women as queens. Angelova and Nilsson also point out the appearance of the ram's horn in other sculptural portraits of Arsinoë II.
- 46 Cheshire, "Zur Deutung eines Szepters der Arsinoë II. Philadelphos", 109–110.
- 47 Thompson, *Female Portrait Sculpture*, 33; Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 48.
- 48 Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, 12–13.
- 49 Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 31–39.
- 50 Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*, 4–5, 60–78.
- 51 Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context*, 20, n.9, who cites M. Sehlmeier, *Stadtrömische Ehrenstatuen der republikanischen Zeit*, 48–50. See also Liv. 8.13.9.
- 52 Liv. 2.13.6–11, Plin. *HN*, 34.13.28–29. See also Flower, "Were Women Ever 'Ancestors' in Republican Rome?" 169, n. 38–40. Cloelia was considered a heroine during the Republic, while Tarpeia served as a lesson in female treachery. See *OCD*³ s.v. "Cloelia" and "Tarpeia".
- 53 Plin. *HN* 34.29; Liv. 2.13.6–11. See also Fantham, et al. *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text*, 219–220.
- 54 Plin. *HN* 34.11.25.
- 55 Plut. *C. Gracch.* 4.3; Plin. *HN* 34.14.31; Flower, "Were Women Ever 'Ancestors' in Republican Rome?" 172, n. 45 and 50. Note that Hekster, *Emperors and Ancestors: Roman Rulers and the Constraints of Tradition*, 113–115, argues for a much later Augustan date for the Cornelia statue and its surviving inscription given evidence that indicates some re-carving of the inscription. He also states that "commemorating Cornelia appealed to Augustan needs", which included providing good Republican models for the commemoration of Augustus's female relatives Livia and Octavia.
- 56 Flory, "Livia and the History of Public Honorific Statues for Women in Rome", 291, who states, based on inscriptions, that the earliest examples of these statues date to either 98/7 BCE or 94/3 BCE.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Thompson, *Female Portrait Sculpture of the 1st Century BC in Italy and the Hellenistic East*, 23.
- 59 Flower, "Were Women Ever 'Ancestors' in Republican Rome?" 170, n. 42.
- 60 Thompson, *Female Portrait Sculpture of the 1st Century BC in Italy and the Hellenistic East*, 24. See also van Bremen, "Women and Wealth", 233–237.
- 61 Hans G. Frenz, *Römische Grabreliefs in mittel-und südtalien* (Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1985). See also Diana E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture: The Funerary Reliefs of the Late Republic and Early Empire* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977).
- 62 Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 10.
- 63 Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*, 80; Woytek, "The Denarius Coinage of the Roman Republic", 322–323. The office of moneyer was not part of the formal *cursus honorum* during the Republic, but was held by young men before they reached the age at which they were eligible to run for the quaestorship, the first step in the series of offices leading to the consulship.
- 64 Woytek, "The Denarius Coinage of the Roman Republic", 322–323.
- 65 Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 67–68; Pollini, *From Republic to Empire*, 72–73; Woytek, "The Denarius Coinage of the Roman Republic", 326–327.

- 66 *RRC*, 242/1. Meadows and Williams, “Moneta and the Monuments: Coinage and Politics in Republican Rome”, 43–44 states that such coins were symptomatic of the new trend of the use of coinage as “a medium for monumentalizing and publicizing” histories.
- 67 *RRC*, 263/1a.
- 68 *RRC*, 344/1a.
- 69 *RRC*, 434/1. Note that prior to this time, images of Marius and Sulla as triumphators appeared on the coinage, but cannot be considered portraits. These coins date to 101 BCE and 82 BCE respectively. See *RRC* 326/1 and 367/3.
- 70 Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy, 31 BC–AD 68*, 11; Woytek, “The Denarius Coinage of the Roman Republic”, 322.
- 71 *RRC*, 488/1–2 and *RRC*, 490/1–4, coins of Marc Antony and Octavian respectively, who each commemorate their connection to Julius Caesar through the depiction of portrait on the reverses.
- 72 *RRC* I, 344/1a and 2a.
- 73 Flower, “Were Women Ever ‘Ancestors’ in Republican Rome?” 166–167; Hekster, *Emperors and Ancestors*, 116. See also Plut. *Rom.* 2.3.
- 74 Lindner, *Portraits of the Vestal Virgins, Priestesses of Ancient Rome*, 80; Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-presentation and Society*, 33–36.
- 75 Burnett et al., *Roman Provincial Coinage (RPC)* I, 512 and 513; App. *B Civ.* 3.30 and 4.2.
- 76 Burnett et al., *RPC* I, 508 states that the city of Eumeneia’s name was changed to “Fulvia” around the time of Antony’s journey to the east around 41 BCE, likely not knowing that Antony was displeased with Fulvia and her actions in the Perusine War against Octavian. For the coin itself see *RPC* I, 3139–3140 and Fischer, *Fulvia und Octavia*, 217ff. See also Habicht, “Some New Evidence on the Province of Asia”, 85. App. *B Civ.* 5. 52 also mentions this journey to Asia by Antony.
- 77 Wood, *Imperial Women: A Study in Public Images, 40 BC–AD 68*, 42 states that there are no examples of goddesses or personifications wearing the nodus coiffure whether on coins or other media.
- 78 See also *RRC* I 306/1 and 476/1a.
- 79 Toynbee, *Roman Historical Portraits*, p. 48; Delia, “Fulvia Reconsidered”, 202.
- 80 Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum (BMCRR)* I, 570–571, n. 2.
- 81 *RRC*, 488/1 and 488/2.
- 82 Grueber, *BMCRR* I, 570–571, n. 2; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 43–44; Delia, “Fulvia Reconsidered”, 202.
- 83 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 43.
- 84 Weir, *A Study of Fulvia*, 79–80.
- 85 *RPC* I, 4509. Fischer, *Fulvia und Octavia*, 165–68.
- 86 See Chapter 2, pp. XX.
- 87 *RRC*, 479/1 and 483/1–2, and p. 748, n. 6. See also Wood, *Imperial Women*, 43 and J. Pollini, “Man or God: Divine Assimilation and Imitation in the Late Republic and Early Principate”, 340.
- 88 Kleiner, “Politics and Gender in the Pictorial Propaganda of Antony and Octavian”, 360. See also Brennan, “Perceptions of Women’s Power in the Late Republic: Terentia, Fulvia, and the Generation of 63 BCE”, 358.
- 89 *RPC* I, 3139 and 3140.
- 90 *RRC* 496/2–3. Pollini, “Man or God: Divine Assimilation and Imitation in the Late Republic and Early Principate”, 341. Here Pollini notes that other examples of this coin that show Sol lacking the distinctive features of Antony, and states that the assimilation likely was not dictated from above, but was likely due to local initiative.

- 91 Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 30; App. *B. Civ.* 5. 14–38; Dio 48.4–14. See also Delia, “Fulvia Reconsidered”, 197–217, who discusses at length the extent of Fulvia’s political power.
- 92 Dio 48.10.
- 93 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 59.
- 94 Kleiner, “Politics and Gender in the Pictorial Propaganda of Antony and Octavian”, 357–358.
- 95 Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*, 61 makes the comparison as well and is convinced that the iconography of these coins of Antony matches sculptural portraits of Octavia. He mentions a portrait of Octavia from the dynastic group at Glanum (Plate 166), as well as another found at Velletri (Plates 41–42).
- 96 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 51.
- 97 Regarding resemblance among members of the imperial family of Augustus see Wood, *Imperial Women*, 49 and 70; Pollini, *The Portraiture of Gaius and Lucius Caesar*, 93; Severy, *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire*, 107–110; Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture*, 57–59.
- 98 Hekster, *Emperors and Ancestors*, 113.
- 99 *RRC* 533/3a.
- 100 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 51.
- 101 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 48 asserts that these coins were issued at Miletus, while *RPC I*, 377 suggests Ephesus.
- 102 Fischer, *Fulvia und Octavia*, 173–181.
- 103 Kleiner, “Politics and Gender in the Pictorial Propaganda of Antony and Octavian”, 363; Pollini, “Man or God: Divine Assimilation”, 344–345.
- 104 Ibid. See also Fischer, *Fulvia und Octavia*, 195–198.
- 105 Dio 48.54.1–4.
- 106 Kleiner, “Politics and Gender in the Pictorial Propaganda of Antony and Octavian”, 358.
- 107 Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 24; Dio 48.39 and 50.5.3; Pollini, “Man or God: Divine Assimilation”, 345; Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 57–65.
- 108 *RPC I*, 2201.
- 109 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 48.
- 110 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 44.
- 111 King, “Roman Portraiture: Images of Power?” 128; Kleiner, “Politics and Gender in the Pictorial Propaganda of Antony and Octavian”, 358.
- 112 A few examples include *RIC I*², 13, 14, 33; *BMCRE I*, 14, 15, 36.
- 113 Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*, 113–114.
- 114 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 59–60 relates that this trend was also readily apparent on the sculptural medium.
- 115 Furnée-van Zwet, “Fashion in Women’s Hair Dress in the First Century of the Roman Empire”, 3.
- 116 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 38.
- 117 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 54.
- 118 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 58–59.
- 119 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 38–39 mentions that “At least half of all the surviving female portraits of the Republican and Augustan period display a nodus”.
- 120 For an extensive discussion of Roman matrons and the quality of *pudicitia* associated with and expected of them see Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 89ff and Langlands, *Sexual Morality in Ancient Rome*, 37ff. For a discussion of the representation of *pudicitia* in Roman art see Davies, “Portrait Statues as Models for Gender Roles in Roman Society”, 211–213.

- 121 Livy 34.1–8. Here Livy refers to Cato the Elder’s speech criticizing women and the men who allowed women to behave so independently and extravagantly. See also Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*, 177–181, and Rawson, “Finding Roman Women”, 326–327.
- 122 Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 85; Wyke, “Woman in the Mirror: The Rhetoric of Adornment in the Roman World”, 140–141.
- 123 Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 88.
- 124 Suet. *Aug.* 34.1 states that Augustus passed laws regarding extravagance, adultery, and the maintenance of *pudicitia*. Tac. *Ann* 3.53 states that Tiberius considered such extravagance as a detriment to Rome’s own wealth.
- 125 Ov. *Pont.* 3.1.113–118. Langlands, *Sexual Morality in Ancient Rome*, 360–361, who mentions that while Ovid’s reference to Livia’s *pudicitia* may seem like praise, some have argued that he was being critical of the morality of the Augustan regime.

TO BE OR NOT TO BE LIVIA

Rendering readable gender-based coin images

The first visual representations of Livia occurred in the sculptural medium rather than the numismatic. When Livia's numismatic representations began early in the reign of Augustus, the coins originated not at Rome, but at the mints of the Hellenistic Greek East of the Roman Empire. As has been demonstrated in the previous chapters, the formula for Livia's visual representation was rooted in that created for former great women, in particular Hellenistic queens and Livia's contemporaries Fulvia and Octavia. Yet, an examination of Livia's numismatic representations demonstrates that while her coin images were mostly created and displayed in the provinces, there appears to have been a standard set by Rome which most provincial mints endeavored to aspire to, while at the same time honouring Livia and other imperial family members according to their own local traditions. First, we need to outline the visual programme that was set for Livia to gain further insight into the meanings and ideologies surrounding these images, most notably those intended by the authors and designers of the coins.

The communicative effectiveness of Livia's numismatic images was achieved by a formulaic and consciously concerted patterning of image elements governed by a visual syntax, which transcended various visual media. I will illustrate the paradigmatic "patterning" of Livia's numismatic images by examining three key visual modes or "syntagms" that make up the visual programme pertaining to her numismatic representation. These three visual modes include: Livia's facial portrait in profile, Livia as seated female figure, and Livia as standing female figure. Despite the amount of evidence indicating that Livia was commemorated on coins throughout the Empire over the course of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, and occasionally even on coins of subsequent emperors, Livia's coins often have been downplayed or dismissed outright in the scholarship. The reasons include an apparent lack of artistic precision on the part of die engravers, as well as the poor quality in which many of these coins survive. However, I will demonstrate here that the intelligibility of Livia's coin images depended on more than simple visual aesthetics for the ancient viewer, as the visual modes to be discussed will contend.

Images also played a key role in the portrayal of gender by helping to reinforce and explain the power-relationships between men and women. For Romans,

gender was very much conceived and perceived along the lines of the visual and was based largely on appearance and action rather than on physical sex.¹ In essence, specific image elements can be infused with messages concerning gender and status. All of these image elements were governed by a visual code, like a grammatical syntax, that played a key role in the construction of images, which in turn facilitated the maintenance of “ideal” social realities including gender roles.² Once, the visual modes and codes for Livia’s representation on coins have been established, their significance and complexity as they pertain to Livia’s gender roles and status in Roman imperial society will be revealed.

Several scholars have explored the coins referring to Livia to varying degrees. The first substantial study of coins depicting Livia was conducted by Walter H. Gross in his book *Julia Augusta: Untersuchungen zur Grundlegung einer Livia-Ikonographie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962). Gross attempted to compile and categorize the Livia coins to better identify, date, and categorize her portraits in sculptural arts. He gathers an impressive, but by no means comprehensive, body of coins. In his analysis of the coins Gross pays close attention to detail: he describes hairstyles, isolates attributes, and compares specific coin images that were issued at a variety of mints. In the end, he does make a promising case for utilizing coins to analyse the sculptural portraits of Livia, and he does touch on the image elements shared between these two media.³

While Livia’s coins have been considered in more recent scholarship, their treatment has often been limited. Susan Wood’s book *Imperial Women: A Study in Public Images, 40 BC-AD 68* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) takes an analytical approach similar to Gross’s with respect to coins and sculpture, but expands the research to include all major female members of the imperial family during the Julio-Claudian period. However, the coin evidence she elicits is quite limited in comparison to Gross, since she argues that the quality of provincial coin images is not reliable enough to fix identifications for sculptural portraits.⁴ Other scholars such as Bartman, Barrett, and Alexandridis have all touched on the iconographical significance of coins depicting Livia, but have only skimmed the surface. These scholars have focused primarily on the coins issued at the imperial mint of Rome, leaving the large body of provincial coins unexamined. Barrett does at least compile a list of coins, both imperial and provincial, that apparently refer to Livia, but with only periodic discussion or analysis given.⁵ In contrast, Alexandridis, in her catalogue of the images of Roman imperial women from Livia to Julia Domna, discusses the coins but does not give them detailed treatment. Her focus rather is on sculpture for which she argues an established iconographic canon existed, and through which imperial women were more prominently represented as opposed to coins.⁶ Here too, the significant body of provincial coinage bearing images of imperial women has been overlooked.

Given that most recent scholarship has focused on art-historical and figural analyses of portrait types that existed in Livia’s sculptural repertoire, the lack of interest in coin portraits is perhaps understandable. However, my research has found that many scholars have dismissed most of the images of Livia on coins,

from her facial portraits to images of her seated or standing, claiming the images are of poor quality and cannot stand as portraits of Livia. In addition to Wood, Haward argues that the coins have much the same styles (hairstyles, portrait features and iconographic attributes) as portrait sculpture, which means that for her purposes coinage has little to offer beyond what has already been derived from sculpture.⁷ Bartman has questioned their value as a portrait medium given the small scale of the portrait and the preference given to a profile view of the subject.⁸ In contrast, Kleiner has stated that there is more to identifying Livia's image than physiognomic appearance alone; other significant image elements at play include hairstyle, dress, attributes, and body type.⁹ The approach I take for the identification of Livia's coin images considers carefully all the image elements Kleiner has identified, which is central to a semiotic analysis of the coins. Furthermore, such analyses must examine other indicators on the coins that aid in the identification of their images as representations of Livia, such as the coins' texts/inscriptions, and the other coins depicting imperial family members that formed part of a series issued by various mints to commemorate the imperial family. Last but not least, there are other images on coins that refer to Livia, but are not portraits. A sester-tius of Rome commemorates Livia using a *carpentum* (a mule or horse-drawn covered carriage) and refers to her directly by name.

Intelligible images of Livia on coins: a semiotic approach

One of the primary stumbling blocks one faces when viewing and analyzing portrait images, whether in the sculptural medium or the numismatic, is identification of the individual portrayed. As we have seen, some have considered the identification of Livia's portraits in the numismatic medium particularly problematic. Burnett has noted the difficulties of trying to categorize coin portraits of emperors on provincial coins, and sometimes even to identify them.¹⁰ The same can be argued in the case of Livia's image on provincial coins. However, Livia's coin portraits can sometimes be linked to those stylistic categories established for her sculptural portraits, but the more effective means of categorization of Livia's coins is by overall type or "mode of representation": profile portrait with coiffure, seated female figure, and standing female figure. An examination of coin portraits of Livia will clarify what elements must be present in order for an image pertaining to Livia, whether portrait or otherwise, to qualify as a representation of her in the numismatic medium. To determine whether a coin image of Livia can stand as a representation of her and be perceived as such by the viewer, we need to understand how Livia's coins functioned in terms of visual communication and as part of a wider visual programme consciously developed for her by those responsible for designing and producing these images in Rome and the provinces. Visual semiotic analyses facilitate a deeper understanding of numismatic images of Livia and can help to establish to what extent such images can convey diverse, impactful, and ideological meanings. The visual analysis contained herein takes into consideration the fact that any image has bound to it two different sets of

meanings: 1) the intended meanings generated by the author of the image; and 2) the perceived meanings rendered by the viewer. While the intended meanings of Livia's coin images will be the particular focus of my analyses throughout, the perceived meanings of the viewer will also occasionally be considered as they relate to, and provide a more comprehensive understanding of, the role these coins played in communicating gender-specific socio-political and religious roles pertaining to Livia.

The foundation of this study takes as its premise the semantic nature of Roman art. Its methodology draws heavily on visual semiotics, taking into account the complex processes of both the projection and reception of an image, which thereby can reveal a multiplicity of meanings. The illumination of multiple meanings present in the numismatic representations of Livia can only be accomplished by identifying the full range of visual elements that constitute an image, as well as the "grammar" by which they operate in order to communicate messages. Fully understanding the value of such an examination as it relates to images of Livia on coins and the intended meanings behind them requires consideration of the role of visual semiotics in understanding the semantics of visual language. Images of Livia or images related to Livia as presented on coins are, in and of themselves, symbolic signs and thus, part of a semiotic system of signification. Roman coins, just as other media contained in the body of Roman art, could be understood through their iconography, attributes and context.¹¹

The isolation of individual image elements for the purpose of understanding the meaning(s) behind the composition of an image as a whole must be carefully considered. The identification of an image's component parts, which each individually have a particular meaning, can transfer meaning to one another to create a distinct composition with new meanings when combined.¹² In the case of Roman coins, Hölscher has shown how the individual elements that make up the images portraying various deities and divine personifications were interchangeable from one divine figure to the next in order to convey specific messages that were particularly relevant and intelligible to a Roman audience.¹³ In ancient visual systems, as in modern ones, these image elements, or *paradigms*, were drawn from a large visual vocabulary, which, much like individual words in a sentence, have a limited impact and meaning on their own, but, once combined with other image elements/words, can have emphatic impact and significance.¹⁴ In semiotics, such a patterning of signs into a specific sequence to convey particular meaning(s) is referred to as a *syntagm*.¹⁵ Herein, such syntagms will be referred to as "modes of representation". In other words, the arrangements and combinations of these image elements can contribute to the construction of a range of overall meanings or messages conveyed by an image. The concept of modal representation was used to great effect by Hölscher who argued that a range of patterns of artistic representation existed in Roman art. Many of these were rooted in specific earlier models (mainly Greek), and were each employed to convey a particular subject, such as Classical Greek models for scenes of religious ritual or Hellenistic Greek ones for more dramatic battle scenes, particularly in relief sculpture.¹⁶ However,

it is important to note that Hölscher makes an important distinction between individual typological categories, which he refers to as “modes of representation”, and style which is predominantly an expression of the general tastes and attitudes of a society.¹⁷ As will be shown, the same patterning and modal representation existed in the composition of various coin types employed for Livia.

Central to my study here is the semiotic process of “entextualization” by which we recognize meaningful patterns among co-occurring signs. The potential meanings inherent in an image can best be derived by an examination of the “patterning” of individual image elements and the use of those image elements across varied media, and thus, in multiple contexts.¹⁸ The Romans themselves recognized the existence of standard iconographic images consisting of iconographical elements arranged in specific formulaic patterns. Cicero pointed out that even from a young age Romans recognized their gods by means of the insignia, age and attire which artists had set out for them.¹⁹ Mapping these formulaic patterns firmly supports that a visual relationship existed between coins and other media, in particular sculpture. As regards visual representations of Livia, image elements such as hairstyle can be traced across the different types of media: coins, sculpture, cameos. Thus patterning, in which image elements transcending multiple media come together to create a meaningful composite whole,²⁰ can help us to gauge the experience-based meanings conveyed by those who authored, and perceived by those who viewed, coin images depicting Livia.

A note on pictorial image and word image on coins

Before proceeding with the syntagmatic modes of representation employed in Livia’s visual repertoire, both on coins and in other media, the role of text on coins in relation to these images and the identification of these coins as pertaining to Livia, needs to be considered. The creators and commissioners of most artistic works (including coins) did not leave any systematic annotation or commentaries to accompany them. Although it is generally understood that most sculptural portraits had accompanying inscriptions, most do not survive alongside their respective statues. Thus, other media, such as coins which often bear inscriptions, aid in the identification of the subjects of portrait sculpture. Many coin images were designed with accompanying legends, which can assist the viewers’ (both ancient and modern) understanding of the intended meaning(s) behind such images. It is generally accepted among scholars that the full message of a coin as a textual whole depended on the text and images contained on both the obverse and reverse.²¹

While pictorial images alone have the potential to convey a number of noteworthy meanings, words or “labels” that often accompany them help to reduce or limit the number of possible interpretations, which can anchor and help to stabilize an image. Words can significantly transform the meaning of an image which, on its own, could mean something else entirely.²² Take for instance a representation of a female figure with head veiled, seated on throne and holding ears of grain and a sceptre or torch. In Greek and Roman art, the ears of grain and sceptre

are standard iconographic attributes of the goddess Demeter/Ceres. Coins issued by the Roman provincial city of Sardis show on their reverse a seated female figure with ears of grain, but the accompanying legend in Greek refers to Livia: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΚΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΜΝΩΝ.²³ Without the legend, the viewer might readily interpret the figure as Demeter/Ceres, but the presence of Livia's title ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ (Augusta), the female equivalent to the emperor's ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ (Augustus), provides an added level of potential meanings for the image including Livia as Demeter/Ceres or Livia associated with Demeter/Ceres and her qualities.²⁴ Regarding Livia, we see this naming of her image to be the case more so with provincial coins than with coins issued at the mint of Rome.²⁵

Although words can help to simplify or further clarify images on the one hand, on the other there is the potential that the accompanying text does not necessarily identify directly what is being depicted, but may still say something about the coin itself. During the reign of Tiberius, coins were issued at Rome depicting a seated female figure along with the legend S C (*senatus consulto* = by decree of the Senate).²⁶ The S C does not refer to the seated female figure in any direct way. Rather, it refers to the Senate's authority (even if in name only) in the issuing of that particular coin.

In both of the aforementioned examples of coins with accompanying text, the role of these word images in conjunction with the pictorial images, and the intended/perceived meanings which such combinations convey, can only be established through the cultural experience of the author of the coins on the one hand and that of the viewer on the other. The viewer's ability to read the words and abbreviations on coins will undoubtedly affect her interpretation, but a viewer's inability to read them does not mean that she is completely unable to perceive the intended meanings behind a coin's pictorial image, as in the case of the seated female figure as Livia coin type. As will be shown, the presence of such seated female figures in other media helps to reinforce the interpretation of this visual configuration as Livia. The same principles apply to the portraits of Livia on coins as well.

The names and titles by which Livia was referred to on coins over the course of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius were quite standardized and reflective of her status as the most prominent woman in the imperial family. Mints throughout the Empire generally observed the standard of names for Livia set by Rome, but occasionally they took the liberty to honour Livia by referring to her as divine and even associating her directly with key goddesses such as Hera/Juno. The significance of these honourific references will be discussed at length in Chapters 3 and 4, but it is important to note here some of the common names and titles employed for Livia as found on coins of Augustus, Tiberius and several other emperors. Where these words referring to Livia appear on coins, there can be no doubt that they are connected to the images alongside which they appear and can be used with confidence to identify those images either as Livia or as representative of her and her roles and virtues as imperial wife and mother.

As noted, the first references to Livia on coins occurred during the reign of Augustus, and only on coins of the Greek East. Where text accompanies an

image, she is often referred to with the Greek equivalents of her name: ΛΙΒΙΑ, ΛΕΙΒΙΑ, ΛΕΙΟΫΙΑ, ΛΙΟΫΙΑ. But, the name is often accompanied with a reference to Livia as a Hera or as divine: ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ, ΗΡΑ ΛΕΙΒΙΑ, ΗΡΑ ΛΕΙΟΫΙΑ. Exceptionally, the coins of Tralles in Asia refer to her as ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ ΛΕΙΒΙΑ “Livia of the Caesars”.²⁷ There are also occasions where coins present Livia’s portrait jugate with Augustus’s, such as at Magnesia ad Sipylum and Smyrna, and refer to them together as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ or “Augusti”.²⁸ While Livia did not receive the official name “Augusta” until Augustus’s death in 14 CE, after which Livia was referred to as “Iulia Augusta”, these coins with ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ were rare, yet significant examples of coins where Livia was honoured with the female equivalent of Augustus’s Greek title σεβαστός. Such an occurrence of references to Livia as σεβαστή may seem premature from the perspective of Rome, but not outside the scope of possibility in the Greek East where recognition of female royal figures was customary.²⁹

During the reign of Tiberius, Livia was officially known as “Iulia Augusta” after having been adopted into the *gens Iulia* in accordance with Augustus’s will. As Flory states, the transferal of the female equivalent of a man’s honorific cognomen to a female member of the imperial family was unprecedented, and brought with it honour and high social status.³⁰ This title appeared on coins in Latin and in Greek, and even more frequently on inscriptions. On coins of eastern Greek cities Livia continued to be referred to occasionally as ΘΕΑ or ΗΡΑ,³¹ but some noteworthy exceptional examples occur. Silver coins of Tarsus in Syria commemorated Livia as Hera and Mother, ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΗΡΑΣ ΜΗΤΡ, ³² “Julia Augusta Hera Mother”, a sentiment echoed on bronze dupondii of Lepcis Magna that referred to Livia as AVGVSTA MATER PATRIA(e), “Augusta, Mother of the Country”.³³ The most exceptional title bestowed upon Livia on a coin was that issued by Colonia Romula in Spain which referred to Livia as IVLIA AVGVSTA GENETRIX ORBIS, “Iulia Augusta, Mother of the World”, an accolade reiterated in an inscription from Anticaria in Baetica.³⁴ While Tiberius refused to allow the Senate to honour Livia with official titles such as “Mother” and even to deify her upon her death, she was appropriately referred to as DIVA AVGVSTA after being deified by her grandson the emperor Claudius.

Where such texts referring to Livia appear on coins, there can be no denying an association of the images contained on them with Livia, whether they be portrait images or images of goddesses. Such coin legends must be considered carefully in tandem with their respective images in order to understand meanings of the messages they communicated about not only Livia, but also the emperor and the imperial family to which she was so intimately and ideologically tied.

Livia’s coin images as visual constructions of gender

Did gender-specific social roles help determine the iconography of men and women in Roman art or was art simply presenting an “ideal” image rather than reality? Natalie Boymel Kampen addressed the issue of women’s roles and status

in society as a determinant of the iconography developed for their portrayal in Roman art. In her analysis, Kampen compared groups of images showing men and women working as vendors, and then compared these with those depicting other occupations such as merchants and medical workers, in order to reveal the ways in which social status and gender affected a woman's visual image.³⁵ Taking into consideration elements such as dress, pose and accompanying figures and attributes, Kampen convincingly revealed the connection between iconography, social status and gender and concluded by stating that works of art "reveal the existence of variations in social and gender experience within the lower classes of Rome as well as differences between upper- and lower-class values".³⁶ In essence, appearance is the primary means by which social relationships and categories are communicated and constructed.³⁷

But the question must be asked: How do images, such as those found in the numismatic medium, communicate male and female gender and their respective gender-based roles and social status? Bartman and others have already done extensive and important foundational work on the visual representation of Livia in sculpture, cameos, intaglios and, to a lesser degree, coins and through these studies they have isolated Livia's key gender roles as mother, matron, wife and priestess. However, Kampen noted a significant gap in the scholarship on images of women and gender in Roman art when she stated that "No thorough study of gender iconography has been done for Roman coins, but it is clear even from superficial study that the coins use women to express the programmatic concerns of the state and the emperor".³⁸ Livia's representation on coins provides convincing evidence that such images of Roman imperial women were part of a complex ideology of gender and power communicated throughout the Roman Empire for the purpose of maintaining social and political power structures.

There is considerable evidence that coins share image elements in common with other media, although they are executed in miniature and in low relief rather than three-dimensional in the round as in the case of sculpture. With coins, as with any medium, specific image elements were emphasized over others, such as hairstyle over facial features, to present an image infused with particular messages related to gender. These image elements were not only peculiar to coins as a distinct visual medium, but also unique in terms of the overall visual programme designed for Livia that transcended all media. Isolating image elements (hairstyle, facial features, dress, body pose, etc.) and tracing patterns of overall image composition has allowed me to identify standard image types, or modes of representation, used for visually representing Livia. These syntagmatic visual modes represented on the coins of Livia, and their accompanying paradigmatic image elements, are most conducive to a discussion of the relationship between appearance and the communication of gender-related messages.

Previous studies of Livia's images have emphasized her sculptural portraits, and examined carefully hairstyle types in order to isolate portrait types for Livia.³⁹ Based in part on these previous studies, I have established three modes of representation conducive to a visual analysis of coins of Livia, whilst taking into

account the portrait-based typologies used in sculpture set out by scholars such as Winkes and Bartman. The modes of representation, or *syntagms*, include: Livia's facial portrait in profile, Livia seated, and Livia standing. Within each mode, I consider carefully all image elements and styles used and their function and significance within that mode. Additionally, my analyses take into consideration the fact that image elements can transcend multiple modes and multiple media. This categorization of images of Livia could be extended to sculpture as well, and while my emphasis here is on coins, I will nonetheless consider sculpture and other media representations of Livia as part of my analysis of Livia's images on coins. Furthermore, these modes were not used exclusively for representations of Livia, but also those of other Roman women,⁴⁰ which indicate that these modes were used to convey particular messages concerning the socio-political and religious ideology surrounding women, and by association men, in Roman imperial society.

Livia's profile portrait mode

Of all the image types that were produced for the representation of Livia on coins, those depicting Livia's portrait and its variants were produced most extensively.⁴¹ As has already been discussed in Chapter 1, portraits of historical individuals, whether living or deceased, had become a significant iconographic mode in the numismatic visual medium since early in the Ptolemaic dynasty. Despite the fact that coin portraits, along with their quite consistent textual identification of the individual depicted, have become a well-established tool for identifying sculptural portraits,⁴² there has been considerable doubt, as we have seen, among scholars as to whether coin portraits can stand as sound likenesses of an individual. Nonetheless, I hope to establish here, and in the image modes of Livia that follow, the numismatic visual elements needed for an image of Livia, whether facial portrait, seated figure or standing figure, to qualify as a confident representation of Livia as intended by the designers of Livia's coin types. Such visual and iconographical analyses reveal that much of the visual programme developed for the composition of these portraits existed in other media including sculpture and cameos/intaglios, which indicates that such images likely served as models for the images developed for coins.⁴³

One of the primary issues one faces when viewing and analyzing portraits is that of identification of the subject. Herein, it will be apparent that the so-called "quality" of Livia's coin portraits did vary, sometimes quite dramatically, from mint to mint and coin to coin. Some mints produced quite aesthetically pleasing and detailed portraits of Livia, such as the *Salus dupondius* of Rome (Figure 2.1) and a bronze as issued by the *Koinon* of Crete (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.13). These coin portraits, when compared with sculpture, can be readily identified as Livia, especially in those cases where an accompanying legend refers to Livia by name as the subject of the portrait image. Other coin portrait examples seem rather crude and almost comical in their execution, such as that issued by the mint at Cnossus (Figure 2.10). However, in any study of the iconography of coin images,



Figure 2.1 AE Dupondius from Rome with obverse portrait of Livia as Salus Augusta. 22–23 CE. Courtesy of American Numismatic Society.

one must consider and appreciate the challenges that die engravers faced when creating readable images on the small surfaces of the coin dies. Recently, scholars have noted the challenges of die engravers in creating images of buildings on coins, but also that the designers of these coin images may not have intended them to be wholly accurate representations of the monuments, and that one must look at the wider historical and archeological context in order to establish the significance of such images.⁴⁴ We must consider that even though some die engravers may have had difficulties in creating precise portraits of Livia on coins, with or without the use of models, there are plenty of visual indicators on the coins and within the wider visual programme and context in which they functioned that enabled a viewer to read these images as representations of Livia. Livia's portrait images on coins were part of an extensive visual programme in a variety of media; they did not have to stand as true likenesses of the empress, but rather were designed by means of individual image elements which stood, as a composite whole, for Livia.

Livia's portraits have been thoroughly studied by several scholars. While most tend to focus on the sculptural medium, some have taken coins into consideration as well. As a result, several portrait types have been identified for Livia. Each portrait type identified by scholars is often based on a particular hairstyle and a noteworthy example of it that survives in the sculptural medium, hence the name given to each type.⁴⁵ For example, the Marbury Hall type is named after the country house in Cheshire that once held an exceptional example of this type,⁴⁶ while the Fayum type is named after the location in Egypt where a fine example of this type was found. Studies of Livia's portraits over the past fifty years have generated a number of typologies shaped to varying degrees by hairstyle and

facial features.⁴⁷ Using coins as a key source, for example, Gross established three portrait types for Livia: the Zopftyp type and nodus type (also known as the Fayum type) during the reign of Augustus, and the Salus type under Tiberius.⁴⁸ Winkes distinguished two key categories of portraits also based on hairstyle: the nodus, characterized by the knot or roll situated upon the forehead and standard during the Augustan age; and a later style with hair parted along the middle.⁴⁹ Within each of these categories Winkes and others have noted several variations, which, to varying degrees, have become the standard types by which scholars have come to classify portraits of Livia: the Marbury Hall, Albani-Bonn, Zopftyp, Fayum, and Salus types.⁵⁰ Bartman recognizes four key types: Marbury Hall, Fayum, Salus/Kiel, and Diva Augusta.⁵¹ Clearly, there is some difference of opinion amongst scholars with regard to the number of portrait types for Livia they choose to refer to in their analyses. For the study being conducted herein, the typologies of Winkes, with the bipartite categoric distinction of the nodus and centre part and the variants found within each, will be a useful standard to follow as we endeavor to understand the composition of Livia's coin portraits.

Given the amalgamate nature of image elements, it is important to recognize that each portrait can be read as a system of signs.⁵² The signs that are employed in the composition of a portrait fall under the following paradigm sets/image elements: hairstyle, facial features, dress/bust type (draped or bare), and attributes such as adornment (diadem, jewelery, etc.). Typically speaking, especially with respect to sculpture and cameos, hairstyle and facial features are essential in order for a portrait to stand as such, while dress/bust type and attributes may or may not accompany a portrait, but nonetheless contribute to the overall meaning(s) generated by each specific portrait composition. Given that type of dress is often not clearly articulated on Livia's coin portraits, it will not be dealt with here. However, Woytek has noted that there does appear to be a gender-specific difference between male and female numismatic portraits of the late Republic and early Empire wherein portraits of men show the head alone whereas busts with varying degree of drapery were preferred for women.⁵³ Attributes, including headdress, will be dealt with under hairstyle.

a) Hairstyle

Hairstyle was a key marker of gender and status and considered one of the prime attributes of the well-dressed Roman woman. It is perhaps the most readily identifiable image element for portraits of women on coins, and it is arguably one of the reasons why coins have been so useful in identifying portrait sculptures and their types.⁵⁴ The Roman prose writer Apuleius (born c. 125 CE) states that the adornment of a woman's hair is of such significance as to surpass in importance all other parts of her dress and adornment.⁵⁵ Even Ovid had advice to give concerning how women should style their hair and attested to the numerous possible styles and adornments.⁵⁶ A woman's hairstyle not only served as a gender marker indicative of her sex, but also codified specific socio-political

roles related to her position in society. Women's hairstyles were culturally constructed visual motifs that not only set them apart from their male counterparts, but also symbolized social roles and relationships between individuals and the society to which they belonged.⁵⁷

The coins demonstrate numerous examples of variants of both the nodus and middle part hairstyles adorning Livia.⁵⁸ However, some coins that are very worn or that were created by less skilled die engravers are difficult to classify as variants of either the nodus or middle part hairstyle. Although a general classification of hairstyles exists, their symbolic functions and how they communicate gender roles has only recently been studied.⁵⁹ Bartman states that the practice that men should cut their hair and wear it short, and that women should grow their hair long yet bind it in some kind of chignon, is a cultural one and a mark of one's participation in social structures that reflect publicly defined roles.⁶⁰ What then did Livia's various coiffures indicate regarding her gender and social roles, and those of women in general? The repertoire of Livia's hairstyle types on coins, the nodus and middle part along with their respective variants, contributes significantly to the viewers' understanding and perceptions of Livia's status and gender roles. These hairstyle types and their technical representation on coins will now be examined, with the nodus being the more prominent type for Livia's portraits during the reign of Augustus, and that of the middle part gaining popularity under Tiberius.

The nodus hairstyle is perhaps the most prolific image element in terms of identifying numismatic portraits of Livia bearing in mind that other elements must also be considered in order to secure such identifications. The nodus hairstyle can generally be described as consisting of a plait of hair atop the forehead formed into a wide roll or knot which then tapers back across the length of the central crown of the head in either a flat section/wrap of hair or a braid. The nodus itself can be either wide running across the length of the forehead or more rarely narrow and almost triangular in shape.⁶¹ The hair on each side of the head is set into gentle waves that frame the face. These separate plaits of hair are then pulled back into a chignon (bun) at the back of the head, usually at the base where the head meets the neck. This hairstyle, despite its simple elegance, would have required at least one, possibly two, ladies' maids to complete, thus making it a symbol of wealth and high status in Roman society.⁶² The distinctive nodus was clearly articulated in most numismatic representations of Livia, which makes this hairstyle a strong signifier that Livia was the most plausible imperial female personage intended. Sculptural portraits of Livia with the nodus hairstyle, and variations of it, date primarily to the Augustan period.⁶³ Specimens of Livia's sculptural portraits with nodus hairstyle can be found in various parts of the Empire including Rome and Italy proper, Gaul, Dalmatia, Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt and North Africa.⁶⁴ There are also several fine examples of Livia wearing this hairstyle on cameos.⁶⁵

Several variations of the nodus hairstyle are recognized in Livia's sculptural portraits, which can also be found on coins: Marbury Hall, Zopftyp, and

Fayum/Albani Bonn (See Appendix B).⁶⁶ I have included a further variant that I call the “Lengthwise Fold” variant, which is not securely represented in Livia’s sculptural repertoire,⁶⁷ but exists on a few coins. The Lengthwise Fold variant is the earliest variant of the nodus hairstyle consisting of a fold of hair running the length of the crown from the forehead to the bun or “chignon” with the fold creating a nodus-like bulge atop the forehead. As we saw in Chapter 1 (Figure 1.13 and Figure 1.15), coins of Fulvia and Octavia depict them sporting this variant of the nodus hairstyle.

While variants of the nodus hairstyle are often much more clearly rendered on sculptures and cameos/intaglios, nonetheless, we do see them making clear cut appearances on coins. Livia’s portrait with the Lengthwise Fold variant appears on a coin of Alabanda (Figure 2.2). The Marbury Hall hairstyle, with its distinctive braid running from the nodus down the centre of the crown of the head to the chignon at the back can be seen distinctively on a coin portrait of Livia from Clazomenae (Figure 2.3). Examples of the Fayum/Albani-Bonn type – a simpler version of the Marbury Hall style with a flat plait or band of hair rather than a braid – were issued frequently at Alexandria, particularly during the reign of Augustus (Figure 2.4). Another clear example of this type comes from Augusta in Syria (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.8). Lastly, coins with Livia wearing the Zoftyp hairstyle, a style peculiar to Asia and possibly likely locally devised,⁶⁸ can be found at Pergamum (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.14), Methymna, and Edessa.⁶⁹ This elegant style is characterized by a loose nodus, but rather than a central braid running from it, two wrap around the crown of the head like a diadem, with locks of hair falling in loose waves down the sides of the neck.⁷⁰



Figure 2.2 AE 16mm coin from Alabanda (Asia) with reverse portrait of Livia wearing lengthwise fold nodus hairstyle. Undated, reign of Augustus. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.



Figure 2.3 Leaded Bronze 17mm coin from Clazomenae (Asia) with reverse portrait of Livia wearing the Marbury Hall nodus hairstyle. Undated, reign of Augustus. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.



Figure 2.4 AE 25mm coin from Alexandria (Egypt) with obverse portrait of Livia wearing the Fayum/Albani-Bonn nodus hairstyle. 10/11 CE. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

The significance of the nodus hairstyle resides in what it was not: it was not a Greek Hellenistic style, nor was it ever worn by any goddess.⁷¹ It was the quintessential hairstyle of the traditional Roman matron and became a hallmark symbol that defined a specific social group in Rome according to their gender and status. The style was likely inspired by that worn by Vesta, as seen on a denarius of P. Sulpicius Galba of 69 BCE, which shows on its obverse a portrait of Vesta with head veiled, but with hair that appears to be styled in a modest roll set atop the forehead and framing the face.⁷² Sculptural portraits of Vestal Virgins demonstrated this hairstyle.⁷³ This Vestal hairstyle was then adapted into a much more prominent roll, or nodus (knot), worn by Roman matrons. The nodus became the definitive hairstyle worn by Roman women, including elite members such as Octavia, Livia and even Fulvia, during the political turmoil of the late Republic. A key player in this instability was the foreign threat posed by Cleopatra VII of Egypt,⁷⁴ who indeed sported her own distinctive hairstyles based on Hellenistic precursors. The nodus set Roman women apart from such extravagant and immoral women as Cleopatra. It came to represent *pudicitia* (modesty), a virtue much valued in the Augustan age given the emperor's moral reforms pertaining to the family, and thus this was a suitable hairstyle for the women in his family.⁷⁵ The nodus was worn not only by elite women related to the ruling men of Rome, but by other Roman women as well. Portraits of women on Roman funerary monuments sport the nodus.⁷⁶ Some of these women represented the lower social classes, but the popularity of the nodus in their portrait repertoires indicates that it was a mark of considerable status and female social identity. The widespread appearance of Livia's portrait wearing the nodus hairstyle and its variants on provincial coins during the Augustan and Tiberian reigns, and later briefly recalled on provincial coins issued under Nero,⁷⁷ is a further testament of the prominence of this hairstyle as a symbol of women of status in their traditional role as Roman matrons.

The conservative approach to hairstyle taken by the designers of Livia's images can be seen not only in the popularity of the nodus hairstyle on sculpture and coins, but also because there appears to have been only one other hairstyle seen in her portrait repertoire: the centre or middle part hairstyle. A distinctive parting of the hair, which is swept to the side in waves that frame the face and extend down along each side of the head, characterizes the middle part style. The hair meets at the base of the head at the back in either a double or single chignon wrapped several times in a braid. The double chignon is undoubtedly a continuation of that found in variants of the nodus hairstyle. The middle part style originated in the reign of Augustus in non-numismatic media, but it did not make an appearance on coins until the middle of the reign of Tiberius. The first appearance of this type in Livia's portraiture seems to have taken place on the Ara Pacis Augustae (Altar of Augustan Peace) of 9 BCE where Livia is the first female figure placed after Augustus in the imperial family procession depicted on the south side of the monument.⁷⁸ The hairstyle became popular after the death of Augustus in 14 CE and during the reign of Livia's son Tiberius, with numerous surviving specimens

in sculpture and cameos from various parts of the Empire including Rome and Italy, Gaul and the Iberian Peninsula, Greece, and North Africa.⁷⁹ Livia can also be seen wearing this hairstyle in several cameos.⁸⁰

The middle part hairstyle also has several variants.⁸¹ To simplify my analysis of this hairstyle, I have isolated two key variants based on Bartman relevant to Livia's portrait coins: the Salus variant, characterized by loosely set waves that frame the face; and the Diva Augusta variant characterized by multiple distinctively deep-set waves or curls extending lengthwise along the head from a middle part, but in a manner that echoes hairstyles of classical goddesses (see Appendix B).⁸² I also recognize a variant I refer to as the "Loose Chignon", which has the middle part, but the chignon is not bound tightly to the base of the head; instead it rests loosely down the back of the neck. While these variants may have been based on the Salus type, they are each distinctive variants of the middle part hairstyle.⁸³ The Salus variant of Livia's portrait was produced on coins from several mints throughout the Empire including Rome (Figure 2.1), which certainly served as the prototype for others issued at Magnesia ad Sipylum in Asia (Figure 2.5), Thessalonica in Macedonia (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.6), Byzantium in Thrace (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.9) and Oea in Africa (Figure 2.6). The Diva Augusta variant seems to have been somewhat less extensive, but with a noteworthy example from the Koinon of Crete from the reign of Claudius (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.13).⁸⁴ Similarly rare is the Loose Chignon variant, which appeared only at Thessalonica and Pella/Dium (Figure 2.7).⁸⁵ This latter variant likely represents the earliest instances of the more relaxed middle part hairstyle that would become



Figure 2.5 Brass 15mm coin from Magnesia ad Sipylum (Asia) with reverse portrait of Livia wearing the Salus variant of the middle-part hairstyle and accompanied by the legend ΘΕΑΝ ΚΕΒΑΚΤΗΝ. After 17 CE. Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 2.6 AE As from Oea (Africa) with obverse portrait of Livia wearing Salus variant of the middle-part hairstyle. After 22–23 CE. Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 2.7 Lead Bronze Semis from Thessalonica (Macedonia) with reverse portrait of Livia wearing stephane and loose chignon variant of the middle-part hairstyle. Undated, reign of Tiberius. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

popular on later portraits of Julio-Claudian women such as Agrippina the Elder and Younger.⁸⁶ While there are no certain representations of Livia wearing this new hairstyle in the sculptural medium,⁸⁷ it is very obviously present on the image of Livia that appears on the Grand Camée de France dated to the first quarter of



Figure 2.8 Close up image of Livia seated in the centre of the Grand Camée de France. First quarter of 1st century CE. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

the 1st century CE (Figure 2.8). While the identity of the seated female figure in the central scene of the cameo has been debated, with some scholars identifying her as Agrippina the Younger, an identification as Livia on the part of the viewer is also plausible given the appearance of Livia's portrait elsewhere wearing this hairstyle.⁸⁸ Another cameo specimen dating to the 20s CE also depicts this hairstyle very similarly to both the Grand Camée and the Macedonian mint coins mentioned earlier.⁸⁹ Given the presence of the hairstyle on these cameos and on the coins, it is evident that this was a new hairstyle developed in the later years of Livia's life or posthumously.

Scholars agree that the middle part hairstyle was implemented to give Livia a classicizing look that clearly evoked images of, and thus associations with, Greek

and Roman goddesses.⁹⁰ As has already been mentioned, Livia first appeared with this hairstyle on the Ara Pacis Augustae. The fact that this hairstyle was also worn by the goddess “Italia/Tellus” on the east end of the same monument was perhaps intended to convey divine associations and connotations between this deity and Livia. The middle part style that adorned Livia’s portrait on the Salus dupondius of Rome does appear to be an adaptation of the middle part hairstyle worn by goddesses and by women in late Hellenistic Greek and Republican period portraits found in the Greek East.⁹¹ The presence of symmetrically arranged waves that frame the face recall the earlier Hellenistic style known as the “melon” coiffure, while the chignon wrapped in braids remained from the earlier nodus hairstyle, which appealed more specifically to traditional Roman tastes. It is also important to note that the Salus dupondius coin type was an officially sanctioned portrait issued by the mint of Rome, which was directly controlled by the emperor. Provincial versions of this coin type once again adapted the type disseminated from Rome to appeal to local stylistic traditions and to create an image of Livia that helped to further define the significance of her status as female head of the imperial family and the most prominent woman in the Empire. For example, a bronze semis from Corinth issued late in the reign of Tiberius, with its version of the middle part style that hearkened back to hairstyles of Hellenistic queens, no doubt imbued Livia’s image with a further regal and royal connotation that local viewers would have readily recognized.⁹²

That this middle part hairstyle was inspired by classical models further defines its significance as a symbol of regal and even divine status. Classical and Hellenistic sculptural representations of goddesses, such as Demeter and Aphrodite, exhibit hairstyles that are echoed in Livia’s middle part hairstyle.⁹³ Like dress, hairstyle is just one of many image elements drawn from the visual repertoire of goddesses and employed in representations of Livia. The adoption of these elements, in particular hairstyle, associated the subject of the sculpture or coin portrait, in this case Livia, in an abstract way to these divine figures. Wearing the middle part hairstyle did not equate Livia with these goddesses, which for the Romans of Livia’s time could be problematic on a number of levels, but rather drew associations in the mind of the viewer between key qualities of a goddess and of Livia. In essence, Livia became a new allegorical figure for the representation of such qualities as motherhood, fertility and ageless beauty, which these goddesses had come to represent.⁹⁴ Livia became the embodiment of these abstract qualities within the mortal realm, but more specifically as the prime female member of the *Domus Augusta*.

The hairstyle paradigm outlined indicates that a series of distinct hairstyles were implemented for Livia’s portrait repertoire that transcended a variety of media including the numismatic one. But, it is also clear that some hairstyles were more accurately rendered than others by die-engravers, and there is also a chance that some artistic liberties may have been taken by them. The Zopftyp and Loose Chignon variants, seemingly originating from Asia and Macedonia respectively, are examples of designs created to appeal to local tastes. Even though it is at times

difficult to isolate specific hairstyle variants on coins, visual evidence shows that in provinces where mints issued coins with clearly articulated hairstyles, often sculptural examples of Livia with these same hairstyles also survive. In Asia, for example, several mints including Clazomenae, Ephesus and Magnesia ad Sipylum issued coins showing Livia clearly wearing the Marbury Hall hairstyle,⁹⁵ while at the same time a fine sculptural example of Livia with this hairstyle survives from Ephesus (Figure 2.9). Such evidence indicates that sculptural portraits were used as models for the images of Livia on the coins. There are also instances where coin portraits of Livia demonstrate a clear shift from the nodus style to the middle part style, as is the case of Magnesia ad Sipylum, which parallels the trend we see in Livia's portrait sculpture.⁹⁶ It is plausible to conclude that certain standard hairstyle types were sanctioned at specific times as appropriate for Livia's portrait on coins by those responsible for designing images that would appeal to and reflect the ideology of the imperial regime. Such evidence also strengthens the case that many of these coins were intended to represent Livia.

While hair clearly stood as a potent mark of Livia's status and conveyed messages concerning her gender-specific roles in Roman imperial society, the significance of hair could further be enhanced through its adornment. On occasion,



Figure 2.9 Sculptural portrait of Livia from Ephesus (Asia). Currently in the Selçuk Archaeological Museum. Augustan or Tiberian date. Courtesy of Art Resource, NY.

coins depicting Livia presented her adorned in some type of headdress, which could include the laurel crown, the *stephane* (both plain and ornate), and the circular band diadem, symbols of the divine which connected the wearer to a divinity.⁹⁷ The distinctive hairstyles featured in tandem with crowns not only marked Livia as dominant “Roman” female whose status was above that of other Roman women, but they also assimilated her to divine female counterparts such as Juno and Venus. The association of crowns with Hellenistic monarchical rule is well attested, as we have seen in several examples of Hellenistic queens wearing crowns in the previous chapter. Although Romans linked Hellenistic monarchies with excessive extravagance, this did not prevent the gradual introduction of these iconographical attributes into Livia’s visual repertoire, which followed the iconographic traditions of the past in the regions where such coins were produced. In addition, such crowns that had adorned gods and goddesses imbued the wearer with their divine qualities. While these adornments were not common elements in Livia’s portrait iconography, whether in coins or sculpture, when they did appear they symbolized unprecedented status and socio-political roles of women who were members of the Roman imperial family. In the case of Livia, this included her role as priestess of Augustus upon his death and deification in 14 CE, as well as the prospect of her own deification, which occurred early in the reign of the emperor Claudius in 42 CE.

b) Facial features

In Livia’s numismatic visual repertoire, hairstyle and hair adornment were clearly among the most important image elements for purveying messages concerning Livia’s gender roles and status. However, the facial features of a portrait are considered by many to be one of the primary means to identify its subject and indeed are the defining elements of any portrait.⁹⁸ Just as each hairstyle type endowed the portrait subject with particular qualities pertaining to social roles and status, facial features as image elements are also culturally encoded, conveying particular messages bearing on the overall meaning of the portrait as a composite image. An individual’s physical attributes are often one of the primary signifiers which allow the viewer to make basic assessments about his or her gender and sex. Facial features, along with one’s overall physical appearance, falls within the scope of physiognomics, which can be defined as “the discipline that seeks to detect from individuals’ exterior features their character, disposition, or destiny”.⁹⁹ The attention to detail given to facial features in portraits indicates that Romans believed that they bore significance regarding the character of the individual represented. In the case of Livia’s image on coins, her facial portraits were the most common way in which she was depicted, with the seated and standing Livia representations being much less so.

Studies of sculpture and other media by Bartman, Winkes and Wood have established the “trademark” features of Livia’s face that are repeated from portrait to portrait and that allow her to be recognized and identified by the viewer.

Facial features typical of Livia's portraits include a gently curving brow, large almond-shaped eyes, a slightly aquiline nose, and a general youthfulness seen in the suppleness of her cheeks, her soft but defined cheekbones, and her small yet shapely lips. While Livia's portraits in sculptures and cameos show her as youthful, mature and sometimes aging,¹⁰⁰ these variations of her facial features cannot be easily traced on coins in any consistent way.

The analysis of Livia's facial features on coins is fraught with problems and is one reason why many scholars have dismissed coin portraits outright unless they be of the highest quality. As in the case of hairstyles on coins, the accuracy of Livia's facial features depends on the artistic and technical skill of the die engraver, as well as the degree of wear on the coin. The small surface area of the dies on which the coin images were carved also made it difficult to render such fine details as facial features that could convey the likeness of an individual. Yet, there were some coins issued in the provinces that demonstrated a desire on the part of die engravers to capture the likeness of Livia. These most likely used sculptural models, along with the coin images issued by Rome itself, namely the so-called "Salus" dupondius issued in 22–23 CE (Figure 2.1). One particularly exceptional example is a silver didrachm issued at Byzantium (Thrace) during the reign of Tiberius (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.9). Given the close resemblance between the portrait on this coin and the one of Livia on the Salus dupondius, the coin has been dated to the 20s CE. Coins from Oea in Africa (Figure 2.6), as well as Magnesia ad Sipylum (Figure 2.5) and Pergamum (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.10) in Asia and Thessalonica in Macedonia (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.6) show a clear desire to recreate this Salus image of Livia, facial features and all.¹⁰¹ While sculptural portraits of Livia in the Salus style originated in Rome and Italy, examples also survive from Crete, Africa and Gaul, which demonstrates that this portrait type was distributed to various parts of the Empire, and that sculptures served as models for the coin images.¹⁰² There are also several other examples where coins issued at Rome served as models for coin images of Livia in the provinces, namely the Pietas and Iustitia types issued around the same time as the Salus dupondius. However, the extent to which die engravers could reproduce facial features on coins ranged from the fineness of detail executed on the Salus dupondius to a crudeness that left Livia's portrait a caricature.¹⁰³ In fact, the majority of the facial features of reputed portraits of Livia on coins do not precisely parallel any facial features in sculptural portraits of Livia. A comparison of the Salus dupondius from Rome and the silver didrachm from Byzantium with coins issued at Cnossus (Crete) (Figure 2.10) and Augusta (Syria),¹⁰⁴ which were all issued at roughly the same time (c. 22–23 CE), reveals the irregularities in reproducing the facial features of Livia's portrait on coins.

If Livia's distinctive facial features cannot be isolated on coins, can Livia's coin portraits stand as representations of her at all? The answer quite simply is yes. Art history has shown that precise rendering of the details of an individual's true to life face and hair is not necessary for it to stand as a portrait. A portrait can only stand as a likeness if the various elements of the face (eyes, cheeks, mouth, etc.) are considered carefully in relation to the whole, and whether it can be placed



Figure 2.10 AE As from Cnossus (Crete) with obverse portrait of Livia. c. 20–29 CE.
Original coin located at the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.
Drawing by Carrie Allen.

within the context of other existing portraits of that subject based on those elements. Some of Picasso's portraits demonstrate that even if you jumble up and distort details of the face it can remain a recognizable likeness.¹⁰⁵ Fejfer points out too that the exact copying of a person's features was not necessarily crucial to the message, and that what mattered was that the portrait passed as a likeness, often with the support of accompanying inscriptions.¹⁰⁶ According to Beckmann, hairstyle can be a more valuable image element for identifying coin portraits, given that facial features are more subject to change through copying and are thus secondary.¹⁰⁷ In the case of Livia's numismatic portraits, hairstyle does tend to be more readily identifiable than facial features.

Other visual and contextual details allow the viewer to read and understand the overall image, even if certain paradigmatic image elements seem to be inconsistent with the standard portrait repertoire established for an individual. Let us take the two examples from Cnossus and Augusta mentioned earlier. In each of these examples, the facial features most certainly do not resemble any of Livia's sculptural portraits. The one from Cnossus in particular presents a rather plump portrait with distorted features such as the small eyes and the very chubby nose and cheeks. Regardless of their distorted facial features, these images can stand as portraits of Livia for three reasons: the presence of the nodus hairstyle which, as we have seen, was a signature hairstyle type in Livia's portrait repertoire; the accompanying legends, where they exist, that refer to Livia by name; and wider contextual details that may confirm that the image was intended by local issuing authorities to represent Livia. Augusta in Syria issued multiple coins of Livia because it had

been founded in 20 CE and named after her.¹⁰⁸ At Cnossus on Crete, there was an established standard of issuing coins depicting the emperor and important imperial family members,¹⁰⁹ including Livia, a practice found at other mints as well including Corinth, Thessalonica, and Oea just to name a few. The portraits of living (or deceased) individuals that appeared on the coins, whether produced in Roman or provincial mints, most likely represented exclusively the Roman emperor and select members of his family, and only occasionally local royal figures or magistrates. Thus, there are limits to the number of candidates whose portraits might appear on coins. Scholarship has also shown that inscriptions lead the viewer to believe that the portrait of an individual, whether an accurate likeness or not, was in fact the person thus named.¹¹⁰ These three factors together allowed the viewer to deduce that the portraits presented on the coins were Livia.

Livia as seated female figure mode

In 15–16 CE, the mint of Rome issued a series of asses to commemorate the recent apotheosis of Augustus, the inauguration of his official cult, and the succession of Tiberius. The coins bore the obverse portrait of either the deified Augustus or the new emperor Tiberius, both of whom were identified by name, while the reverses depicted an unnamed female figure, seated and facing right on an ornate chair with her feet resting on a small footstool (Figure 2.11).¹¹¹ She appears dressed in matronly garb with her head veiled. She holds a sceptre in her left hand and a *patera* (ritual libation bowl) in her right. Some have readily identified the figure as Livia.¹¹² However, the ambiguity of the type has given many scholars pause; they are reluctant to label the figure as Livia due to the lack of identifying legend/inscription and specific physiognomic features which can be confirmed as Livia's. Sutherland, for example, has argued that the figure on Tiberius's *aes* coins may in fact be a representation of the statue of Vesta *in palatio* (Vesta's shrine on the Palatine), whose cult was closely associated with that of Divus Augustus, and that it cannot represent Livia.¹¹³ Wood asserts that this coin type most likely represents Pietas, alluding to Livia's new appointment as priestess of the deified Augustus, and the lack of identifying inscription makes a direct association with Livia uncertain.¹¹⁴ Aurei and denarii with a similar seated female figure, but with head unveiled and holding a sceptre and branch, were issued at the imperial mint at Lugdunum first under Augustus in 13–14 CE and then also under Tiberius c. 14–37 CE (Figure 2.12); this female figure has been variously interpreted as Pax or Livia.¹¹⁵ The reverse of a provincial bronze coin from an uncertain mint of Bithynia likely issued just before Augustus's death, bearing a seated female figure with a double cornucopia on her lap, also has been identified as Livia given the presence of the jugate portraits of Augustus and Livia on the obverse.¹¹⁶

Despite these mixed interpretations regarding this seated female figure, I propose that the lack of identifying legend does not decrease the potential for identification as Livia by the viewer, whether ancient or modern. While there are several coins, all provincial issues, that contain legends identifying the seated



Figure 2.11 AE As from Rome with figure of Livia seated on the reverse. 15–16 CE. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.



Figure 2.12 AR Denarius from Lugdunum (Gaul) with figure of Livia seated on the reverse. Undated, c. 14–37 CE. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

figure as Livia, the design of the image itself, along with its iconographic attributes, makes it highly plausible that the ancient viewer could readily interpret this seated figure as a representation of Livia. Furthermore, the obverses of these coins were often dedicated to the commemoration of key male members of the Roman imperial family, which in turn supports an interpretation of this seated figure as Livia.

I will also show how these visual elements transcended multiple media, thereby making the identification of the seated female figure on coins as Livia a highly plausible one, with no accompanying appellative text required.

The seated figure image type was a popular iconographic motif employed in the representation of both gods and mortals since at least Archaic Greek times. The god Zeus was popularly depicted in coins and sculpture as a seated figure, and the pose was at times also adopted for images of Hera, Demeter, Athena and Dionysus.¹¹⁷ The seated pose could also be used for the representation of a ruler, hero or the oldest member of a group, and thus implied office, status and seniority. By the 6th century BCE the seated type had become thoroughly absorbed into Greek art and could be found in a variety of contexts including votive, funerary, and cultic images.¹¹⁸ Regarding coins, the tradition of the seated figure is usually reserved for deities. The image of Zeus seated on a throne was particularly popular on the coins of Alexander the Great and his successors.¹¹⁹ Under the Roman Republic, the gods Jupiter, Roma, Hercules and Victoria can be found seated, as well as a Vestal Virgin.¹²⁰ These coins possibly served as the prototypes for the seated image of Livia on coins.

The seated pose also found its way into the plastic art of the Romans, only intermittently during the Republican period, and then increasing in popularity into imperial times. Many Roman examples of the seated pose, particularly in sculpture, were inspired by and copied from Classical and Hellenistic Greek prototypes, including sculptures of gods and philosophers such as the bronze seated Hermes from Herculaneum and the marble statue of the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus.¹²¹ Augustus, Tiberius and other subsequent emperors were depicted in sculpture and on coins in this seated pose. Women were also depicted in Roman art in the seated pose, although it was a somewhat rare occurrence. The first known example, which no longer survives, was set up during the Republic (mid-2nd century BCE) in honour of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi. The statue is mentioned by Pliny the Elder and is believed to have depicted the distinguished Roman matron seated.¹²² Honourific portraits of women increased particularly in the Hellenistic Greek East in the late Republic and continued into imperial times. However, Fejfer states that regarding full length portrait statues, the most common format for women was the standing format, while those of women seated were rare and usually found in a funerary context rather than a public one.¹²³ Members of the imperial family, including women, could be depicted in sculpture in the seated pose, with at least five surviving examples of Livia.¹²⁴

The extremely diminutive details of the seated figure on coins, especially facial features, hairstyle and head adornment (crowns), can make paradigmatic analyses difficult. The die engravers, who were often highly skilled, would have found detailing the face and crown on such a small image quite challenging. Elements such as hairstyle and facial features are next to impossible to accurately recreate on these seated figures, and thus will not be dealt with here. The visual elements of the seated female figure on coins that can be most readily perceived by the viewer is dress, pose, attributes held or worn by the figure, and

occasionally the type of chair she is seated on. As in the case of Livia's portrait coins, some of these details are more accurately and clearly rendered than others depending on the skill of the die engraver. Statues and cameos of Livia seated have already been thoroughly studied by Bartman and Wood and, as will be shown, some parallels exist between representations of Livia seated on coins and of Livia seated in other media, enough to show that these statues and cameos also served as models for the images of Livia seated on coins.

a) Dress

While the seated figure appears fully clothed in every coin example, it is often extremely difficult to pinpoint the exact type of garment the figure is wearing. Therefore, we need to begin with an overview of female dress in portrait sculpture. In portrait sculpture, Livia's dress falls into two primary types: the traditional Roman garb consisting of the *tunica* (sleeved dress), *stola* (woolen sleeveless dress) and *palla* (mantle or veil); and the equivalent Greek style garb consisting of the *chiton* (dress with or without sleeves), *peplos* (long sleeveless dress) and *himation* (mantle or veil) respectively.¹²⁵ The traditional Roman *stola* was suspended by shoulder straps, just as the Greek *peplos* was pinned at the shoulders. In Livia's portrait sculptures, unless the distinctive straps of the *stola* are visible, it is often difficult to ascertain precisely which type of dress, the Greek or the traditional Roman, is being employed. In the past, scholars have given special attention to the *stola* citing it as the definitive dress of the Roman matron.¹²⁶ While these scholars consider the *stola* to be a key garment signifying a *matrona*, iconographical and epigraphic evidence shows that it was not nearly common enough to be the prime measure of matronly status.¹²⁷ In fact, Bartman's catalogue of statues of Livia shows that the majority of Livia's portraits depict her wearing some form of Greek dress rather than the *stola*. Although the *stola* may not have been "standard" dress for Livia as *matrona*, its rarity does not necessarily take away from its iconographic significance.

In the case of the seated representations of Livia on coins, in no instance whatsoever is the presence of the *stola* clearly visible, the result of the generic manner in which the garments are artistically executed from one coin to the next. It is also this generic artistic rendering of the garments that makes a distinction between Roman and Greek attire virtually impossible. Given that all surviving statues of Livia seated depict her wearing Greek dress, notably the *chiton* with *himation*, one could argue that the form of dress implied on coins of her seated is Greek as well. In the veiled versions of the seated female figure on coins, it is clear from the mantle/veil that formal matronly dress, particularly within a sacred context, is implied.¹²⁸ Therefore, body pose along with other iconographical attributes need to be considered in order to establish the identity and/or significance of this seated figure as Livia.

The role of dress in the communication of social and gender roles has figured prominently in recent scholarly discussions. Stig-Sørensen has emphasized that in ancient societies, including Roman, dress was not simply a costume for the

practical purpose of covering and protecting the body, but also served as a system of communication, an essential part of social learning and a means of constructing dialogues between the self and society.¹²⁹ In Roman society, dress was not only a culturally constituted sign system, but it carried such weight as to be regulated politically and legally, thereby indicative of a rather strict dress code. The appearance of “masculinity” and “femininity” was thus guarded through Roman law and social codes, particularly in the case of men and women of the citizen classes.¹³⁰ Established iconographies, which included elements of dress, were used to distinguish between public offices, religious institutions, wealth and social status.¹³¹

Dress not only marked one’s status and position in Roman society, but also gender-specific social roles. Generally speaking, the *toga virilis* was the mark of the Roman male citizen and the *stola*, the Roman matron. The function of dress towards signifying diverse gender-specific social roles can be found throughout Roman portrait art. A particularly explicit example of portraits communicating specific social and gender roles can be found in a trio of statues in the Villa Doria Pamphili at Rome that depict the same mid-3rd century CE man in three distinct guises: one in *togatus*, one nude wearing military guise with cloak (*paludamentum*) and sword, and a second nude in hunter guise with cloak and dog at his feet. Each one symbolizes three aspects of Roman *virtus*: civic/political, military and the noble pursuit of *otium* (leisure) through the hunt.¹³² The utilization of portraits for signifying particular gender roles is also attested in the *Historia Augusta*’s account of the emperor Tacitus which describes a series of five portraits of him on a single panel, each depicting him in a different form of dress including the toga, military garb and Greek mantle.¹³³

Livia’s visual programme in the sculptural medium reveals that her portraits communicated particular gender roles both at Rome and in the provinces, with dress as prime signifier. Livia’s dress in her sculptural portraits included the distinctly Roman *stola*, symbolic of virtuous Roman matrons, as well as Greek dress, such as the *peplos*, the costume typical for divinities.¹³⁴ The depiction of Livia wearing *stola*, at times with *palla* covering the head, can certainly be considered a key visual element in the representation of Livia and emblematic of her specific gender/social role as *matrona*.¹³⁵ The *peplos*, on the other hand, can be symbolic of her connections to various female divinities.

But, did such “role” portraits of Livia appear on coins as they did in other media? As noted, Livia’s coins represent her dress clearly only in rare instances, and even then identification of dress could be debated. In other words, dress in Livia’s coin images was essentially left to the imagination and personal experience of the viewer, who could interpret it as either Roman *stola* or Greek *peplos* or *chiton*. Despite the ambiguity in interpretation, both garments invoked associations with concepts of mother and/or matron, once again feeding into the gender-specific social role of motherhood, although the Greek guise incites associations with divine “mother” goddesses.¹³⁶ The depiction of dress on coin images of Livia is ambiguous on account of the nature of the medium, but this does not weaken its potency as message bearer. The ambiguous rendering of dress on coins

allows for multiple interpretations, but all lead back to Livia's role as mother and wife in the Roman imperial family.

While the stola cannot be clearly identified on coins of Livia, the palla (mantle or veil) was a key part of Roman female dress that held special social and religious significance, and Livia can be seen clearly wearing this garment, veiling or covering her head, in several coins from Rome and the provinces. The mantle was not an exclusively female attribute, but the toga could also be employed as a mantle in the visual iconography of important men of state. The veiling of the head was standard practice for participants of religious ritual, in particular priests and priestesses, symbolizing pious respect and devotion to the gods for whom rites were performed.¹³⁷ Coins bearing the portrait of Julius Caesar occasionally show him with head covered by his toga as a symbol of his religious piety and devotion to the state as *parens patriae* (parent of the country) of Rome.¹³⁸ Not only did Roman matrons wear a mantle, but also priestesses, in particular Vestal Virgins, covered their heads with a mantle, especially when performing their religious functions.¹³⁹ The signature garment of Vestal Virgin priestesses was a shorter version of the mantle known as the *suffibulum*.¹⁴⁰ A Roman Republican denarius of M. Aemilius Lepidus commemorates the Vestal Virgin Aemilia who is depicted with head veiled (see Chapter 1, Figure 1.11). Even the goddess Vesta herself was often portrayed on coins wearing a mantle.¹⁴¹ Various other "mother" goddesses also had the mantle as part of their iconography including Juno, Ceres, Cybele and occasionally Venus.¹⁴² The fact that Livia's image possessed this attribute in both sculptural and numismatic media imbues her image with several symbolic connotations. Livia's role as wife/mother of the emperor and thus chief matron of the imperial family is implied here, as well as her role as priestess of the cult of the deified Augustus after his death in 14 CE. In contrast, the presence of the head unveiled, when considered in combination with the pose of the body and the hand-held attributes (both to be discussed), is a potential signifier for particular deities and personifications.

b) Body pose

The pose of the seated figure on the coins can often be identified, and thus adds to the overall meaning intended behind this seated female figure. The significance of body position in Hellenistic Greek and Roman full-length portrait statues has been the focus of considerable discussion.¹⁴³ The body types for portrait statues of Roman women find their origins in Classical and even more so in Hellenistic Greek art.¹⁴⁴ Scholars have been able to isolate the body poses employed in portrait statues of Livia standing, which were largely adaptations of earlier popular female poses such as the *pudicitia* type.¹⁴⁵ However, very little has been said about the variety and nature of the seated Livia statue types. Bartman has touched on this, briefly noting the relaxed seated pose in which Livia sits on the Grand Camée de France (Figure 2.8), as well as the Jupiter-like pose of the seated Livia statue from Lepcis Magna.¹⁴⁶ The lack of attention paid to the seated Livia statue type and its possible

varieties may be due in part to the limited number of these statues that survive: approximately five in total.¹⁴⁷ There are also two cameos that present Livia seated including the Grand Camée already mentioned and the one from Vienna showing Livia holding a small bust of the deified Augustus (Chapter 4, Figure 4.10), but in the case of the latter only the arm of the chair or throne she sits on is visible without showing the lower part of her body and thus lacking the complete seated pose. However, as will be seen, an examination of the coins sheds light on the possible variants of the seated figure type, particularly if we assume that these images, like Livia's coin portraits, were based on models in the sculptural medium.

Just as in the case of facial physiognomy, distinct body poses exist for males and females, which are representative of gender roles. Davies has noted the different ways in which men and women are posed in Roman sculpture. In the case of seated statues, Davies observes that men are generally in more relaxed position with legs open and arms held away from the body, whereas women often have their legs much closer together and arms held closer to the body. Davies considers the former to reflect a much more dominant, confident and higher status individual than the latter.¹⁴⁸ However, a closer examination of Livia's seated images indicates that the pose was more indicative of power and status within a particular context rather than a subordinate gender role.

Livia's seated image on coins indicates two different types of seated pose: a more conservative, closed body seated position more commonly seen in images of Livia produced during her lifetime; and a more open and relaxed pose with the legs set comfortably apart from each other which appears more so on coins issued after Livia's death. Several examples of both configurations show Livia's seated figure with one of her feet situated slightly in front of the other, which perhaps implies a more relaxed pose. Each of these two seated poses, when considered in tandem with other image elements, reveals that both indicated status and specific gender roles. The former pose, which shows Livia seated in a strict right facing profile with torso rigidly set perhaps highlights a more formal, pious and dutiful Livia as mother of the emperor and now priestess of the cult of the deified Augustus. The more relaxed seated Livia is most likely indicative of a more "divine" Livia, as this pose can be seen in coins depicting seated goddesses.¹⁴⁹ Livia can be seen seated in this pose in a sculpture from Rusellae of Claudian date (Figure 2.13). A comparison between this statue of Livia and those of the goddess Cybele/Magna Mater shows that their seated poses are virtually identical and therefore indicative of the comparable status of the subjects (Figure 2.14). Livia's high status and role as mother of the imperial family is indicated through the iconography her image shares with that of such key goddesses.

In the body of coins that may be interpreted as images of Livia as seated female figure, I have noted two variants in the position of the torso: figure seated facing right with torso turned directly to the right in profile away from the viewer; and figure seated right (or left) with torso turned more openly towards the viewer. The first body pose variant, which clearly derives from the standard type established on the asses issued at Rome in 15–16 CE (Figure 2.11), shows the figure seated



Figure 2.13 Statue of Livia seated from Rusellae (Italy). Currently in Grosseto, Museo Archeologico. Claudian date. D-DAI-ROM 81.1796.

facing right, holding a sceptre (or more rarely a torch) in the left hand which grasps the upper part of the staff, while the right hand holds a patera (libation bowl) that rests on the lap or just above it with arm slightly extended. The body is fully facing to the right and the head is looking straight ahead in that direction. In most cases, the feet are positioned with the right foot extended slightly forward and the left drawn in towards the chair. In some cases, the feet appear to be side by side. The pose of the body is quite rigid in nature and strongly resembles the seated statue of Livia from Paestum (Figure 2.15). Most of the coins of this type also show the figure with head veiled, which implies that a statue of Livia similar



Figure 2.14 Statue of Cybele/Magna Mater from Rome. Currently in the J. Paul Getty Museum. c. 50 CE. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

to the one from Paestum likely served as model for the coin images rendered. The Paestum statue of Livia is greater than life-size and, while its regal nature may give an impression of the divine to some, Livia is seated in a rather reserved front facing pose, which indicates that the statue was produced sometime during the reign of Tiberius and quite possibly while Livia was still alive.¹⁵⁰ Livia's pose in this statue combined with her dress as an overall image are securely reproduced in the seated Livia that appears on the dupondii of Rome. This representation of Livia is the most common of all the seated images and is found on coins throughout the

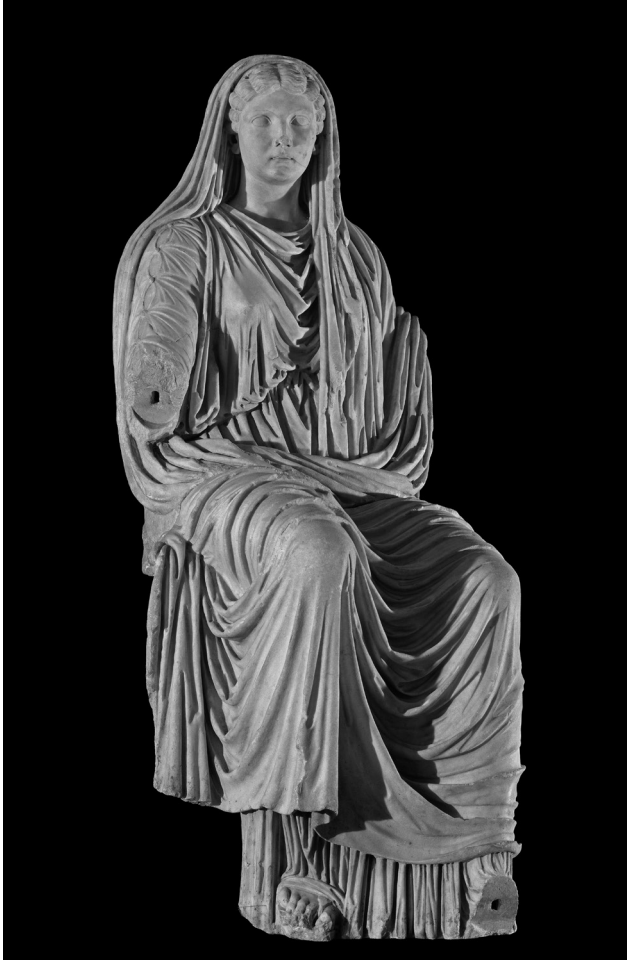


Figure 2.15 Statue of Livia seated with head veiled from Paestum (Italy). Currently in Madrid, Museo Arqueológico. Tiberian date. Courtesy of Art Resource, NY.

Roman Empire with examples hailing from Spain, North Africa, Achaea, Cyprus, Crete, Syria, Macedonia, Bithynia-Pontus, Sicily and Rome and Italy proper.¹⁵¹

The second variant of the seated Livia coin image type shows the figure seated and facing right or left, the sceptre still held in one hand, while the other holds some other attribute, usually ears of grain and/or flowers or a branch. The overall position of the body seems to be more relaxed than the first, although more dominant and goddess-like with its upper torso turned slightly facing towards the front. The position of the feet is similar to the seated variant discussed immediately above, but the more relaxed position of the feet apart from one another is more

prevalent. In contrast to the first seated variant, in the second the head often does not appear veiled. It first appeared on aurei and denarii issued in Lugdunum late in the reign of Augustus and again in the reign of Tiberius (Figure 2.12), and it also appears on coins of cities in Asia and Achaëa.¹⁵² Interestingly, the variant did not make an appearance on the coins of Rome because, if it is in fact a representation of Livia, the divine overtones implied by the relaxed body position and other iconographic elements with divine connotations might have been frowned upon by those in more conservative circles in Rome. Occasionally, the pose is rendered in a left facing profile rather than right, with the upper body again turned slightly towards the front. The sceptre is held in the left hand and some other attribute in the right. These examples originate from Spain, Macedonia, and Achaëa.¹⁵³ This more relaxed pose can be found in a sculptural example of Livia that survives from Rusellae (Figure 2.13), where the position of the feet and openness of the position of the torso very plausibly connotes Livia's recent apotheosis given the Claudian date of this work. The type is repeated in a very similar seated statue of Livia from Lepcis Magna.¹⁵⁴ These examples foreshadow, or perhaps even served as models, for Livia's introduction as goddess on the coins of Rome under Claudius.

Livia's divine nature and higher status is more directly indicated in the Claudian dupondius issued in c. 41–50 CE (Figure 2.16), which commemorated Livia's official apotheosis. Livia, now *DIVA AVGVSTA* is seated in a very confident upright posture with arms and body quite open to the viewer. Her legs are still in a somewhat reserved position with knees close together but feet apart. Despite the obvious elevation in Livia's posthumous status, she still retains a more typically feminine pose through the position of her legs, but the openness of her upper torso



Figure 2.16 AE Dupondius from Rome with Livia as Diva Augusta on the reverse. c. 41–50 CE. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.



Figure 2.17 AE Dupondius from Rome with Ceres on the reverse. c. 41–50 CE. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

gives her a dominating and confident appearance comparable to her male relatives. The presence of the stephane on her head, along with the attributes of the torch and the ears of grain and/or poppies in her hands associate her with the goddesses Juno and Ceres. This coin is strikingly similar to a dupondius issued by Claudius around the same time that depicts Ceres in very much the same pose and with similar attributes (Figure 2.17). This imagery was later echoed on sestertii of Galba,¹⁵⁵ where Livia is depicted in a similar goddess pose, but holds a sceptre in one hand and either patera or ears of grain in the other. The pose can also be compared with representations of Pietas and Vesta on coins, which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

A comparison between Livia's seated figure on coins with those that depict her male counterparts indicate that there may be subtle differences, but not enough to imply an explicit subordination of one over the other. Coin images of the emperor Tiberius and the deified Augustus seated show a pose that is almost identical to the more relaxed seated pose used for Livia.¹⁵⁶ A comparison of the seated statues of Livia with those of Augustus and Tiberius confirms a similarity of poses. The status of Livia is comparable to her male relatives.¹⁵⁷ The seated pose in combination with other image elements conveys a regal status and dominance in the gender-specific, socio-political role that a particular subject represents. Other women in Roman imperial society who were not members of the imperial family and were depicted in the seated pose, but with arms positioned in a *pudicitia* format, according to Davies, implies an inferior social rank.¹⁵⁸ The body language chosen for Livia's coin images, which was echoed in other media such as cameos and sculpture, corresponded with established norms for the representation of men and women of status in Roman art.

c) *The chair/throne*

The chair, upon which Livia is seated as pictured on coins, is often described as a “throne” in most coin catalogues. A throne, or *solium* in Latin, is an object with connotations of high status and authority for many Romans and inhabitants of the Roman Empire. Ulrich describes the design of such *solia* in detail including their backs, ornately carved legs and often accompanying footstool. He also provides literary and archaeological evidence indicating that such a seat was employed in representations of kings and gods. A version of the *solium* was also used by the *paterfamilias*, the male head of the Roman household.¹⁵⁹ Representations of female figures seated on such ornate chairs can be found in a variety of media. These include the depiction of the initiate (or bride) from the frescoes in Room 5 of the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii, as well as several other examples from Herculaneum.¹⁶⁰ In many of these examples either deities (male and female), mythological women such as Dido and Phaedra, or women of wealth and status are represented.¹⁶¹ There is evidence that such chairs may have originated in Hellenistic Greece and Etruscan Italy and were luxury furniture that may have been imported to Rome.¹⁶²

Interestingly, the chairs on which Livia is seated are often quite clearly articulated on coins and may be divided into two broad types with varied styles: chair with no back and chair with low back. It is important to note that none of the chairs in statues of Livia seated survive in enough detail to make a comparative analysis between sculpture and coins possible. However, here is an opportunity where coins may perhaps be used to fill in the gaps as to what types of seats may have been used in the sculptural representations of Livia. The decoration of these chairs upon which Livia sits can be either ornate or plain, with most of them rendered in the former style, which indicates higher status, authority and prestige of the sitter. The most common type of chair, which has ornately decorated legs and no back, is present in the majority of examples and seems to be associated in particular with the seated figure of Livia with head veiled. The decorations of the legs are somewhat varied but most frequently features a set of two vertically opposing bell-shaped ornaments.¹⁶³ Other decorative elements appear, such as flat discoid and round nodule shapes running the length of the legs, sometimes in addition to the bell-shaped decoration. The decoration of the legs on these chairs qualifies them as a type of backless throne.¹⁶⁴ Such leg decoration is also present on the chairs with a low back, of which there are only a few examples and which depict Livia with head unveiled and with the more frontal body pose (Figure 2.12).¹⁶⁵ The chairs with plain legs are the least common and were perhaps just simplified versions of the former ornate examples.¹⁶⁶ One exceptional coin – a bronze dupondius issued at the Roman colony and *municipium* of Italica in Spain (Figure 2.18) – depicts on its reverse Livia seated on an especially exquisite “throne” with ornately decorated legs, seat and back. Livia is named on the legend of the coin as *Iulia Augusta*, while the deified Augustus is depicted and named on the obverse. No comparative examples of this particular type of chair can be traced in the visual record, but it undoubtedly was a mark of high status



Figure 2.18 AE Dupondius from Italica (Spain) with Livia seated on an ornate throne on the reverse. Undated, reign of Tiberius. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

and perhaps even divinity. Interestingly, this Italica coin dates roughly to the reign of Tiberius, and perhaps anticipates Livia's eventual deification, given that the throne she sits upon looks strikingly similar to the one she is seated upon on the Claudius dupondius.

In many of the seated and veiled examples, Livia's feet are depicted resting on either a stool or cushion. One intriguing example from the Spanish mint at Caesaraugusta seems to increase the status of the subject (Livia) depicted by providing a stool for each foot.¹⁶⁷ There appears to be no real rhyme or reason to the inclusion of this furnishing which is depicted in both veiled and unveiled versions of the seated Livia figure, but when combined with the chair, especially the ornate version, particular wealth and status is implied.¹⁶⁸

Livia as standing female figure mode

In this section, I will discuss coins that potentially depict Livia standing as opposed to seated on a throne. As is the case with the numismatic representations of Livia seated, these images of a standing female figure are difficult to positively identify as Livia based on their visual elements alone. Nonetheless, the coin legends accompanying these standing figures always refer to Livia either by name or title. Therefore, no matter who is being depicted on these coins, the textual references would have prompted the literate viewer to make an association between the figure being depicted and Livia herself.

Only a very small number of coins associating Livia with a standing female figure were issued under Augustus and Tiberius and all were from mints in the provinces of the Greek East including one type from Smyrna and the other from Tralles (Figure 2.19).¹⁶⁹ The obverses of these coins were dedicated to the commemoration of key male members of the Roman imperial family. Their reverses depicted a standing female figure, which either represents Livia or a goddess associated with Livia such as Aphrodite or Demeter, which corresponds with a growing practice of linking female members of the imperial family to goddesses associated with motherhood, abundance, and fertility for the purpose of associating these women with the continued existence of the imperial dynasty. A standing representation of Livia did not appear again until the reign of Nero when aurei and denarii were issued showing what may be Augustus and Livia standing side by side on the reverse.¹⁷⁰ Another standing representation of Livia appeared on coins again during the reign of Galba (June 68–January 69 CE) when his Spanish mint¹⁷¹ and the mint of Rome (Figure 2.20) issued aurei and denarii that bore the portrait of Galba on the obverses and a depiction of Livia standing as the goddess DIVA AVGVSTA on the reverses.

Although only a few of these coin types were issued, the visual elements that made up these images can be found in other visual media, once again solidifying the theory reiterated here that the images of coins were part of a concerted visual programme designed for promoting Livia and key ideological messages pertaining to her. The two image elements that can be discerned in this particular mode are dress and body pose. In each of the surviving numismatic examples of the standing Livia figure, the images survive in such small detail that once again we



Figure 2.19 AE 20mm coin from Tralles (Asia) with figure of Livia as Demeter standing on the reverse. c. 2 BCE. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2.20 AR Denarius from Rome with figure of Livia as Diva Augusta standing on the reverse. c. July 68–January 69 CE. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

are faced with the dilemma of trying to determine dress with very little to go on. An examination of sculptural examples of Livia that survive, which are several, indicate that once again Greek dress was the most common garb worn, but the traditional Roman stola with palla can also be found.¹⁷²

The specific body pose of the standing female figure is also difficult to establish on these coins. Coins of Tralles (Figure 2.19) dating circa 2 BCE during the reign of Augustus may have representations of Livia standing in a front facing pose with the weight of the body shifted into a more relaxed pose through the slightly bent left leg situated to the side, a stance which is found also in the sculptural examples of Livia standing.¹⁷³ The coins also show Livia with hands raised and holding ears of grain in her left hand. The relaxed stance and the positions of the hands and arms find parallels in sculpture both in Rome and the provinces. A statue from a Julio-Claudian statue group from Ocrinum may have depicted Livia in this standing pose with arms raised, although the arms and other parts of the statue were restored in the 1700s.¹⁷⁴ A statue of Livia from Carthage dating to the reign of Claudius (Figure 2.21) depicts Livia in a relaxed stance and with arms, although partially missing, raised similarly to the figure depicted in the Tralles coins. Regarding Livia's pose in the Diva Augusta coins of Galba, it is very similar to that adopted for the representation of deities or personifications holding attributes. The precursors for this pose of Livia can be found in coins themselves, where gods such as Neptune and Ceres are depicted with the same stance on Julio-Claudian coins.¹⁷⁵ The pose is very much drawn from Classical Greek representations of the gods, and concerning Livia, it echoes Classical representations of goddesses such as Hera and Demeter.¹⁷⁶



Figure 2.21 Statue from Carthage (Africa) of Livia standing with head wearing a stephane. Currently in Tunis, Musée du Bardo. Claudian date. D-DAI-ROM-61.585.

A note on attributes and adjuncts

What I have just discussed are the core iconographic elements that make up each of the three primary visual modes, or syntagms, for the representation of Livia on coins. While these paradigmatic elements were essential for qualifying these images as portraits, iconographic motifs, known formally in numismatics as attributes and adjuncts, were often added to the images. An attribute can generally be defined as an object held by, or in close physical contact with, a human or divine figure, which further defines that figure and distinguishes it

from others.¹⁷⁷ An adjunct is an object that performs much the same function as an attribute, but is set apart from the central figure and often located in the field of the overall obverse or reverse design.¹⁷⁸ Attributes and adjuncts are essentially image elements that were part of the overall visual language, and which could be employed to provide additional levels of meaning or significance to the figure they were associated with. In the case of gods, goddesses, and personifications of abstract concepts such as Pax (Peace), each had a special set of attributes and adjuncts that served as signifiers to the viewer thereby allowing that person to more readily identify the figure being portrayed along with particular virtues or qualities associated with it. For example, the goddess Juno is often represented with attributes such as a *stephane* (circular, high rimmed band worn like a crown) sceptre, and patera (libation bowl), along with the peacock as adjunct, which generally refer to her regally divine status and piety. Sometimes these attributes and adjuncts could be shared between figures, but generally there was a stock set of these for each god or goddess.

Representations of Livia, whether on coins, sculpture or cameos/intaglios, were often imbued with a variety of attributes, some of which were shared with divine figures such as Juno or Ceres. Such attributes also transcended the three visual modes we have established for Livia's representation on coins. Given the complex and diverse messages such attributes and adjuncts could trigger with respect to Livia's images on coins, these will be addressed more specifically in the subsequent sections and chapters of this book as they relate to the socio-political, religious and gender roles communicated through Livia's coin images.

Conclusion

While these modes of representation for Livia may have been developed from established models, which in their original contexts may have conveyed particular subjects with a range of possible meanings relevant to a particular time, place, and audience, the Romans nonetheless redefined these models to symbolize specific subjects and themes that would be relevant and intelligible to Romans and other culturally diverse inhabitants of their empire. But the question remains, how do we determine the various potential meanings behind various modes of representation and not only Livia's status and influence, but also that of the imperial family which she represented? Establishing these potential meanings depends on an examination of the broader iconographical context in which these modes of representation functioned. Such contextual information includes identifying patterns of usage, such as patterns of adoption of particular coin types over others, what themes or subjects related to Livia's status and gender roles relayed by these coin types were most popular, mapping the geographical or chronological patterns of occurrence of specific types, and so on. When attaching meanings to such patterns, one must bear in mind that the significance of a particular image of Livia, its mode of representation, and even its individual attributes, such as a diadem or sceptre, will depend upon its pattern of usage not only in Livia's visual repertoire, but in

the system of Roman visual communication as a whole. Such patterns constitute multiple codes, which can be understood by members of society as part of a collective consciousness, which in turn can facilitate the interpretation of images.¹⁷⁹ Identifying such patterns of usage in a wider context has the potential to reveal a multiplicity of meanings inherent in the coin images of Livia and by extension how such meanings influenced ideologies surrounding Livia in regionally distinctive ways, a matter that will be addressed primarily in Chapter 3. Establishing the patterns for the use of iconographical attributes and adjuncts in the composition of Livia's images on coins, will in turn shed light on the function of coins in communicating Livia's gender-specific roles, as well as her unprecedented power, albeit ideological, within the Julio-Claudian imperial regime – the focus of Chapter 4.

Notes

- 1 Montserrat, "Reading Gender in the Roman World", 176; Fischler, "Social Stereotypes and Historical Analysis: The Case of Imperial Women at Rome", 116.
- 2 Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 153.
- 3 For example, see Gross, *Julia Augusta: Untersuchungen zur Grundlegung einer Livia-Ikonographie*, 102ff.
- 4 Wood, *Imperial Women: A Study in Public Images, 40 BC–AD 68*, 93.
- 5 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 295–302.
- 6 Alexandridis, *Die Frauen des Römischen Kaiserhauses: Eine Untersuchung ihrer Bildlichen Darstellung von Livia bis Julia Domna*, 8–9.
- 7 Haward, *Art and the Romans*, 9.
- 8 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia: Imaging the Imperial Woman in Augustan Rome*, 12.
- 9 Kleiner, "Livia Drusilla and the Remarkable Power of Elite Women in Imperial Rome: A Commentary on Recent Books on Rome's First Empress", 566.
- 10 Burnett, "The Augustan Revolution Seen from the Mints of the Provinces", 23.
- 11 Hijmans, *Sol: the sun in the art and religions of Rome*, 52.
- 12 Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*, 19 and Cross, "Icons as Ideology: a media construction", 174.
- 13 Hölscher, "Die Bedeutung der Münzen für das Verständnis der politischen Repräsentationskunst der späten römischen Republik", 269–282.
- 14 Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 138, who defines paradigm as "a set of associated signifiers or signifieds which are all members of some defining category, but in which each is significantly different".
- 15 Crow, *Visible Signs*, 41. See also Tilley, *Material Culture and Text: The Art of Ambiguity*, 22–23, which discusses how material culture objects have elements that combine to make syntagmatic chains thereby establishing meanings.
- 16 Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, 14–16.
- 17 Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, 113.
- 18 Bauer, "Is what you see all you get? Recognizing meaning in archaeology", 39–41.
- 19 Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.29. 81–83, especially noteworthy "Nobis fortasse sic occurrit ut dicis; a parvis enim Iovem Iunonem Minervam Neptunum Vulcanum Apollinem reliquos deos ea facie novimus qua pictores fectoresque voluerunt, neque solum facie sed etiam ornatu aetate vestitu". Cicero also goes on to discuss how the gods differ in form and appearance from place to place, followed by further examples of specific attributes used to identify particular gods. See also Hijmans, *Sol: the sun in the art and religions of Rome*, 44–45.

- 20 Krmnicek and Elkins, “Dinosaurs, Cocks, and Coins: An Introduction to ‘Art in the Round’”, 9. Elkins and Krmnicek here refer to several works of Tonio Hölscher and Paul Zanker, who have studied extensively Roman art, including coinage, as governed by a visual sematic system.
- 21 King, “Roman Portraiture: Images of Power?” 124–125; Hölscher, “Historical Representations of the Roman Republic: The Repertory of Coinage in Comparison with Other Art Media”, 25; Noreña, “Coins and Communication”, 252; Wallace-Hadrill, “Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus”, 67–70.
- 22 Hall, *This Means This, This Means That: A User’s Guide to Semiotics*, 98; Bërgstrom, *Essentials of Visual Communication*, 135.
- 23 *Roman Provincial Coinage (RPC)* I, 2991. Here, ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ clearly refers to Livia as Augusta while the remainder of the legend refers to the magistrates responsible for issuing the coin. See Burnett et al., *RPC* I, 487.
- 24 Mikocki, *Sub specie deae: le impératrices et princesses romaines assimilées à des déesses, etude iconologique*, 15–16.
- 25 Burnett, “The Augustan Revolution Seen from the Mints of the Provinces”, 13.
- 26 *Roman Imperial Coinage (RIC)* I², 72.
- 27 *RPC* I, 2647 and 2648.
- 28 *RPC* I, 2449 (Magnesia ad Sipylum), 2464 and 2466 (Smyrna).
- 29 Flory, “The Meaning of *Augusta* in the Julio-Claudian Period”, 126. Flory gives a later example where the title Σεβαστή was used in reference to Statilia Messalina, third wife of Nero, on a Greek inscription, perhaps anticipating the official awarding of the title for her in Rome. See also Chaniotis, “Livia Sebaste, Iulia Sebaste, Caius Caesar Parthikos, Domitian Anikeitos Theos: Inofficial Titles of Emperors in the Early Principate”, 341, who states regarding the early bestowal of the title to Sabina, wife of Hadrian, in the east that “. . . the early appearance of the title should be explained as an inofficial (and probably unauthorized) adaptation by provincial communities of a title that they knew from imperial nomenclature”.
- 30 Flory, “The Meaning of *Augusta* in the Julio-Claudian Period”, 113 and 118, states that the title was intended to be bestowed upon the mother of the emperor and his successors, and the reason why Livia never received such an honour during Augustus’s lifetime.
- 31 *RPC* I, 2453 (Magnesia ad Sipylum) and 2345 (Mytilene). The latter example was issued after Livia’s death in 29 CE, but before her official deification by the emperor Claudius in 42 CE. Another example was issued at Amphipolis (*RPC* I, 1634) but it is not clear whether it was issued before or after Livia’s death.
- 32 *RPC* I, 4005.
- 33 *RPC* I, 849. Tac. *Ann.* 1.14.1–4 relates that the Senate wanted to bestow honours on Livia including “parent” and “mother” of the fatherland, but Tiberius flatly refused to allow them. More will be discussed on the significance of these titles on coins in Chapters 3 and 4.
- 34 *RPC* I, 73; *CIL* 2.2038.
- 35 Kampen, “Social Status and Gender in Roman Art: The Case of the Saleswoman”, 115–132.
- 36 Kampen, “Social Status and Gender in Roman Art: The Case of the Saleswoman”, 131.
- 37 Stig Sørensen, “The Construction of Gender Through Appearance”, 122.
- 38 Kampen, “Between Public and Private: Women as Historical Subjects in Roman Art”, 242.
- 39 Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 65–66; Winkes, *Livia, Octavia, Iulia: Porträts und Darstellungen*, 25–50; Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 144–145. These scholars have all utilized a categorization of Livia’s portraits based primarily on hairstyle. Bartman does

- provide a detailed discussion on other elements such as facial features, but these are not the basis for her typologies. Winkes analyses within each category the image elements hair, physiognomy, and even medium, yet each type is based on the hairstyle.
- 40 Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context*, 333 states that regarding full length portrait statues, the most common format for women was the standing format, while those of women seated were rare and usually found in a funerary context rather than a public one. See also Fejfer, 344–356 for a discussion on attributes shared between portraits of women in the imperial family and private women.
 - 41 Note that this section focuses only on coins where Livia's portrait is presented alone on either the obverse or reverse. Livia's portraits where she is depicted either jugate with another male family member, or paired face to face with a male figure, is dealt with later in subsequent chapters.
 - 42 Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 8; Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 80; King, "Roman Portraiture: Images of Power?" 123; Beckmann, "The Relationship between Numismatic Portraits and Marble Busts: The Problematic Example of Faustina the Younger", 39.
 - 43 It is important to note that some scholars recognize that sculptural portraits produced in Rome were likely distributed to the regions of the empire and served as models for die engravers. See Stuart, "How Were Imperial Portraits Distributed Throughout the Empire", 601–617; Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 87–89; and King, "Roman Portraiture: Images of Power?" 127. Beckmann, "The Relationship between Numismatic Portraits and Marble Busts", 39 states that there were derivative models of portraits based on a primary one, which served as models for coinage.
 - 44 Krmnicek and Elkins, "Dinosaurs, Cocks, and Coins: An Introduction to 'Art in the Round'", 10. See also Elkins, *Monuments in Miniature: Architecture on Roman Coinage*, 6–7.
 - 45 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 10. Bartman indicates that artists endeavored to stay consistent in representing the hairstyle types accurately, whereas other portrait elements such as facial features could be rendered with some artistic license. See also Fittschen, "Methodological Approaches to the Dating and Identification of Roman Portraits", 59, who provides some general guidelines for naming portrait types.
 - 46 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 260.
 - 47 For a summary of this scholarship on Livia's portrait typologies see Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 11.
 - 48 Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 65–66.
 - 49 Winkes, *Livia, Octavia, Iulia*, 25–50. Winkes approaches his study of portraits with the nodus as one type category and the middle part as the other, and then identifying the variants of each one.
 - 50 Winkes, "Livia: Portrait and Propaganda", 25–50. Wood, *Imperial Women*, 91–92 in general follows the types identified by Winkes and recognizes the various subtle differences that exist in each.
 - 51 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 144–145.
 - 52 Nodelman, "How to Read a Roman Portrait", 11.
 - 53 Woytek, "Heads and Busts on Roman Coins. Some Remarks on the Morphology of Numismatic Portraiture", 55ff.
 - 54 Fittschen, "Methodological Approaches to the Dating and Identification of Roman Portraits", 53–54.
 - 55 Apul. *Met.* 2.9: "Tanta denique est capillamenti dignitas ut quamvis auro veste gemmis omnique cetero mundo exornata mulier incedat, tamen, nisi capillum distinxerit, ornate non possit audire". See also Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 32.
 - 56 Ov. *Ars.* 3.135–168.

- 57 Bartman, "Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment", 3–5; Myerowitz Levine, "The Gendered Grammar of Ancient Mediterranean Hair", 81.
- 58 In the course of my paradigmatic analysis of hairstyles employed for Livia's portrait representation on coins, I take into consideration the same general hairstyle types identified in the portrait analyses of Livia conducted by Winkes, Bartman, and Wood.
- 59 Bartman, "Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment", 1; Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 93; Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-presentation and Society*, 38–39, 70–76, 90.
- 60 Bartman, "Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment", 2 and 5.
- 61 Wood, *Imperial Women*, Fig. 11–12 shows a bust of Octavia with a rather small, triangular-shaped nodus.
- 62 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 54.
- 63 Furnee-van Zwet, "Fashion in Women's Hair Dress in the First Century of the Roman Empire", 5–6; Winkes, "Livia, Portrait and Propaganda", 32–33.
- 64 Rome: Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 146–153, nos. 1, 3, 7, 8, 10, 12–14; Italy: Bartman, 153–160, nos. 16, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 31, 32, 34; Gaul and Iberia: Bartman, 165–169, nos. 45, 46, 49, 50, 51; Dalmatia: Bartman, 169, no. 52; Greece: Bartman, 169–170, nos. 53, 54, 56, 57; Asia Minor: Bartman, 171–173, nos. 58–62; Egypt: Bartman, 173–175, nos. 63, 64; North Africa: Bartman, 175–180, nos. 65, 66, 68, 72. Bartman also cites several other examples which have unknown provenance.
- 65 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 187–194, nos. 92–94, 96, 99, 100, 101, 103, 109.
- 66 I have chosen hairstyle variants based on the research of Winkes and Bartman on Livia's sculptural portraits. I have combined the Fayum and Albani Bonn types, because they are essentially the same hairstyle, but with slight variations in the size of the nodus and the waves of the hair that frame the face.
- 67 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 60–62 and 175, no. 65. Here, Bartman cites what is likely a very early sculptural portrait from Carthage, which she indicates is infrequently associated with Livia. She also states the hairstyle to be quite early, from the late 40s or early 30s BCE. The hairstyle resembles the Lengthwise Fold variant, and also exists in sculptural portraits of Octavia. The portrait of Octavia in Figure 1.16 reveals a lengthwise fold when viewed from the top.
- 68 The Zopf type was first identified and analysed by Gross, *Julia Augusta*, 30–31, and discussed further by Winkes, "Livia: Portrait and Propaganda", 33–34, and Wood, 95ff. Both Winkes and Wood consider Asia Minor as the source of this variant, with Winkes ascribing an origin date of 16 BCE based on the coins of Pergamum depicting Livia's portrait sporting this style. Wood describes this style as a variation of the Marbury Hall. Note, however, that there is a marble portrait of an unknown woman that was found in Rome and is currently in the Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme (inv. 125591) that sports a hairstyle very close to the Marbury Hall, which perhaps may be evidence of Roman origin for this hairstyle.
- 69 *RPC I*, 2359 (Pergamum), 2338 (Methymna), 1525 (Edessa).
- 70 There is some doubt as to whether a sculptural example survives of Livia wearing the Zopf type hairstyle. See Wood, *Imperial Women*, 95–96, figs. 28–29 and Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 222, no. 7. While Wood is ready to identify this portrait as Livia based on a corresponding numismatic portrait from Pergamum, Bartman questions whether this could be Livia given that the facial features are slightly atypical for Livia and the lack of this type's consistent repetition in the gamut of Livia's portraits.
- 71 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 42.
- 72 *Roman Republican Coinage (RRC)*, 406/1.
- 73 Lindner, *Portraits of Vestal Virgins, Priestesses of Ancient Rome*, 81, 113–114.
- 74 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 36–37; Lindner, *Portraits of Vestal Virgins*, 119.

- 75 Lindner, *Portraits of Vestal Virgins*, 119, who also states that one can see the same conservative style and aesthetic in the hairstyles of the Vestal Virgins. See also Wood, *Imperial Women*, 98.
- 76 For sculptural examples see Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 26, fig. 22–23 which shows the head of a woman from the Tomb of the Licinii dating to the 30s BCE. See also Bartman, 50, n. 34 and Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture: The Funerary Reliefs of the Late Republic and Early Empire*, 131–136, which gives several specific examples from funerary contexts.
- 77 Note that the coin issued under Nero could plausibly be called a “restoration” issue where a particular coin image that had been issued at one time under a certain authority is later reissued under another authority. Here, the mint of Syria under Nero may simply have been reissuing this earlier image type from the reign of Tiberius. There is considerable evidence for the practice of issuing “restored” coinage, particularly under Galba, the Flavians, and Trajan.
- 78 While there is some debate as to which figure represents Livia on the Ara Pacis Augustae, the general consensus is that Livia is the first prominent female figure depicted in line after Augustus and Agrippa. See Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 126; Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 86–92; and Severy, *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire*, 136.
- 79 Rome: Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 146–153, nos. 2, 4, 5, 9, 15; Italy: Bartman, 153–160, nos. 17, 21, 24, 27–29, 33; Gaul and Iberia: Bartman, 165–169, nos. 44, 47; Greece: Bartman, 169–170, nos. 55; North Africa: Bartman, 175–180, nos. 67, 69–71, 73, 74. Bartman also cites several other examples which have unknown provenance.
- 80 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 187–194, nos. 95, 97, 98, 102, 104–108, 110.
- 81 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 116; Winkes, “Livia: Portrait and Propaganda”, 38; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 119. While scholars such as Winkes acknowledge the existence of several variants and see a certain general development in style, none have specifically analysed them categorically. Bartman sees the variants as spin offs of, or attempts to simplify, the so-called “Salus” type of Livia’s portraits.
- 82 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 145.
- 83 Another variant of the Salus style can be found in a full-length statue of Livia from Puteoli dating the Claudian period as cited by Bartman, p. 132–133, figs. 105–106. The hairstyle is characterized by parallel sections of crimp-like waves that resemble tight curls. This hairstyle is seen most often in Livia’s posthumous portraits. There are no examples of coins showing Livia wearing this hairstyle.
- 84 There may be a further variant of this hairstyle, but without stephane, at Tripolis in Asia dating to the reign of Tiberius showing a distinct lock of hair coiling down the back of the neck. See *RPC I*, 3053.
- 85 *RPC I*, 1358 (Pella/Dium).
- 86 Ginsberg, *Representing Agrippina: Constructions of Female Power in the Early Roman Empire*, 81. See also Wood, *Imperial Women*, 217–218 and 295–297.
- 87 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 147, no. 4 is a posthumous portrait of Livia, likely of Claudian date, depicting her with a combination of chignon and flowing locks that drape down from it, which may perhaps be a variation of the loose chignon type.
- 88 There has been debate as to whether the seated female figure in the centre of the Grand Camée is Livia or Agrippina the Younger, but the consensus among the scholarship sides more strongly in favour of Livia. Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 47 and 112, and Wood, *Imperial Women*, 137–138 identify the figure readily as Livia. Others such as Fischer, “A Woman’s Weapon: Private Propaganda in the Large Imperial Cameos of the Early Roman Empire”, 46, and Ginsburg, *Representing Agrippina: Constructions of Female Power in the Early Roman Empire*, 95–97, also claim this. A case could be made for identification of Agrippina the Younger based on hairstyle given that she predominantly wears this loose chignon style in her portraits.

- 89 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 192–193, no. 106, fig. 94.
- 90 Winkes, “Livia: Portrait and Propaganda”, 37; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 99.
- 91 Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*, 107–111 and 155.
- 92 *RPC* I, 1153, 1154, and 1159.
- 93 Inspection of the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)* entries for goddesses such as Demeter, Aphrodite and Hera provide numerous examples of these goddesses wearing the middle part hairstyle and variations of it.
- 94 Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: the allegory of the female form*, 82–83. Here, Warner remarks on how abstract principles are personified, the immaterial taking on material substance, which makes them familiar to us and provide more profound meaning.
- 95 *RPC* I, 2496 (Clazomenae), 2580 (Ephesus), and 2450 (Magnesia ad Sipylum).
- 96 *RPC* I, 2449, 2450, 2452 and 2453 show clearly the change in Livia’s hairstyle on these coins from the time of Augustus to Tiberius.
- 97 *RPC* I, 73, 1567, 2842 (Livia with laurel crown); 362, 538, 1030, 1542, 1568, 2469 (Livia with stephane); 4011 (Livia with circular diadem); Alexandridis, “The Other Side of the Coin: The Women of the Flavian Imperial Family”, 212.
- 98 Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 89; Fejfer, “Roman Portraits”, 236. See also Pollini, *From Republic to Empire: Rhetoric, Religion and Power in the Visual Culture of Ancient Rome*, 39–56, who discusses the importance of physiognomy in early Roman portraiture.
- 99 Barton, *Power and Knowledge: Astrology, Physiognomics and Medicine under the Roman Empire*, 95. See also Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context*, 264–265 and Brilliant, “Hairiness: A Matter of Subject and Style in Roman Portraits”, 303.
- 100 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 24; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 107.
- 101 *RPC* I, 835 (Oea), 2453 (Magnesia ad Sipylum), 2369 (Pergamum), 1567 (Thessalonica).
- 102 See Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 155, no. 21; 156, no. 24; 157, no. 27; 164, no. 41 for sculptural examples of the Salus type from Italy. For examples from Gaul, see Bartman, 165, no. 44; 167, no. 47 and 48. For an example from Crete, see Bartman, 170, no. 55. For examples from North Africa, see Bartman, 176, no. 69; 178, no. 70.
- 103 King, “Roman Portraiture: Images of Power?” 125–126 acknowledges that some die engravers did have difficulty rendering portraits on coins and argues that the creating “likenesses” of individuals in antiquity, whether in sculpture or on coins, was often unstable. Therefore, other factors must be considered, such as the inscriptions on coins.
- 104 *RPC* I, 4010.
- 105 Brilliant, *Portraiture*, 25–26; Hall, *This Means This, That Means That*, 60.
- 106 Fejfer, “Roman Portraits”, 234–237.
- 107 Beckmann, “The Relationship Between Numismatic Portraits and Marble Busts”, 40.
- 108 Burnett et al., *RPC* I, 591 and Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 2nd ed., 205.
- 109 Burnett et al., *RPC* I, 234–235.
- 110 Sparkes, “So Few People Look Like Themselves”, 11, who mentions Greek funerary monuments depicting individuals not as a true likeness, but rather in an idealized or even abstract form. Yet, the accompanying inscriptions identify who is represented.
- 111 See also *RIC* I², 72.
- 112 Grether, “Livia and the Roman Imperial Cult”, 235–236 and Grant, *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius*, 115 interprets the figure as Livia stating that these coins were issued to commemorate the consecration of Augustus.
- 113 Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy*, 85–86.
- 114 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 89.
- 115 Grant, *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius*, 80 and Grant, *Roman Imperial Money*,

- He also argues that Roman citizens would have easily interpreted this figure as Livia, because of the presence of the type on coins of other provincial mints accompanied by the legend IVLIA AVGVSTA. See also Sutherland, *RIC* I², 87 who notes as well the varied interpretations of this figure.
- 116 *RPC* I, 2097. Morelli, "Ancora sull'iconografia di Livia: le emissioni provinciali", 437, who states that this seated figure type is generally based on those issued at Lugdunum. See also Burnett et al., *RPC* I, 353.
 - 117 Nagy, "Divinity, Exaltation and Heroization: Thoughts on the Seated Posture in Early Archaic Greek Sculpture", 181. See also *LIMC* 4.1 s.v. "Demeter", p. 859–860, nos. 138–155, which include sculptural and terra cotta figurine examples.
 - 118 Nagy, "Divinity, Exaltation and Heroization", 183–184, 189.
 - 119 The representations of Zeus and other gods seated with attributes were issued under Alexander the Great, and several his successors including Ptolemy I, Seleucus I, Demetrius Poliorcetes and Lysimachus. See Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage*, 43.
 - 120 *RRC* I, 268/1b (Roma?), 343/1a (Victory), 449/1 (Jupiter), 494/2a (Hercules), 512/1–2 (Vestal Virgin).
 - 121 Davies, "On Being Seated: Gender and Body Language in Hellenistic and Roman Art", 223–224.
 - 122 Plin. *HN* 34.14.31; Fantham et al., *Women in the Classical World*, 265. See also Ruck, "Das Denkmal der Cornelia in Rom", 478, who mentions that the statue of Cornelia must have been seated given the proportions and configuration of its base.
 - 123 Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context*, 333. See also Dillon's extensive research on female portrait statues in *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*, which also considers those of Roman women.
 - 124 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 156, no. 24 (Paestum), 158, no. 29 (Rusellae), 168, no. 50 (Iponuba), 171, no. 60 (Ephesus), 179, no. 73 (Lepcis Magna). Many of the portrait heads of Livia that survive would have been part of full-length statues, some of which may have been in the seated pose.
 - 125 Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 25–26 and 33–36; Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 41.
 - 126 Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 27–33; Cleland, et al. *Greek and Roman Dress from A-Z*, 182, s.v. "stola"; Sebesta, "Symbolism in the Costume of the Roman Woman", 48.
 - 127 Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 31–32. I would also like to thank Dr. Lisa Hughes, University of Calgary, for bringing the issue of the rarity of the stola in representations of women in Roman art to my attention. Clearly the whole issue of the popularity of the stola needs to be explored further, but falls outside the scope of this work given that garments of any kind are not clearly articulated on most coins.
 - 128 Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 35–36. Olson argues that the palla more so than the stola was symbolic of matronly status, and may also refer to the religious or sacred duties of the *matrona*. The wearing of the palla is also often found on images of women, including freedwomen, in funerary contexts.
 - 129 Stig Sørensen, "Gender, Things and Material Culture", 88.
 - 130 Gardner, "Sexing a Roman: imperfect men in Roman law", 146–147; Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 10–11.
 - 131 Koortbojian, "The Double Identity of Roman Portrait Statues: Costumes and their Symbolism at Rome", 79–80.
 - 132 Koortbojian, "The Double Identity of Roman Portrait Statues", 74.
 - 133 SHA, *Tac.* 16.2–4.
 - 134 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 41–44; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 113, 115, 120, Alexandridis, *Die Frauen des Römischen Kaiserhauses*, 44.

- 135 Alexandridis, *Die Frauen des Römischen Kaiserhauses*, 53. Here, Alexandridis argues that the stola was particularly favoured by the Julio-Claudians for the representation of female family members of the *Domus Augusta*. However, an examination of Livia's sculptural portraits as presented by Bartman reveals that Greek dress was also popular in the depiction of the empress.
- 136 Alexandridis, *Die Frauen des Römischen Kaiserhauses*, 41 argues that a fusion of Greek and Roman elements existed in the dress employed in the depictions of imperial women, which contributed to the high status implied by such dress.
- 137 Fantham, "Covering the Head at Rome: Ritual and Gender", 162; La Follette, "The Costume of the Roman Bride", 56.
- 138 *RRC* I, 480/19. Note that some examples show Caesar with head veiled while referring to him as perpetual dictator (i.e. *RRC* I, 480/15).
- 139 Lindner, *Portraits of the Vestal Virgins*, 255–256. See also Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 44–45.
- 140 Lindner, *Portraits of the Vestal Virgins*, 102; Cleland et al., *Greek and Roman Dress from A-Z*, 183–184, s.v. *suffibulum*.
- 141 *RRC* I, 406/1, 413/1, and 428/1.
- 142 *RRC* I, 348/2 (Juno); 360/1a (Venus); 322/1b (Cybele); *BMCRE* IV, 395 and 403 (Ceres). While there are almost no examples of Ceres veiled on coins during the Republic or early empire, see *LIMC* IV.1, s.v. "Demeter/Ceres" for numerous examples of the goddess veiled in various media.
- 143 Bieber, *Ancient Copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1977) 195 as cited in Davies, "Portrait Statues as Models for Gender Roles in Roman Society", 211, n. 24. Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*, 68–99.
- 144 Davies, "Portrait Statues as Models for Gender Roles in Roman Society", 211; Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*, 133–136; Trimble, *Women and Visual Replication in Roman Imperial Art and Culture*, 150ff.
- 145 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 47; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 115.
- 146 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 47–48, and 129, fig. 102.
- 147 This number was obtained through an examination of Bartman's comprehensive catalogue of Livia's portrait sculptures.
- 148 Davies, "Gender and Body Language in Roman Art", 97, 101–102.
- 149 Coins from the reign of emperor Gaius/Caligula, see *RIC* I², 36 (Plate 13) and 47 (Plate 14) depicting Pietas and Vesta respectively. Several more examples of seated goddesses can be found on the coins of later Julio-Claudians Claudius and Nero, and they continue even after that.
- 150 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 109 and 156.
- 151 *RPC* I, 341 (Spain); 604 (Italy); 645 (Sicily) 711, 723–726, 731–733, 769, 795, 797, 849–850 (Africa); 986 (Crete); 1149 (Achaëa); 1506 (Macedonia); 2097, 2126 (Bithynia-Pontus); 3919–3920 (Cyprus); 4005 (Syria). For Rome see *RIC* I², 33–36, 72.
- 152 *RPC* I, 2252, 2368, 2568, 2697, 2991 (Asia); 1431 (Achaëa).
- 153 *RPC* I, 66–67 (Spain); 1569 (Macedonia); 1150 (Achaëa).
- 154 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 129, fig. 102 and 179, no. 73. Note that there are two other sculptural examples of Livia seated that survive from Iponuba (Bartman, 106, fig. 84 and 168, no. 50) and Ephesus (Bartman, 23, fig. 20 and 171–172, no. 60), but these statues are fragmentary with the lower half completely missing, thus making it difficult to confirm the pose.
- 155 *RIC* I², 331–338 and 432–433.
- 156 *RIC* I², 48–49.
- 157 Davies, "On Being Seated", 233.

- 158 Davies, "On Being Seated", 232.
- 159 Ulrich, *Roman Woodworking*, 215–218.
- 160 Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans*, 98–103, figs. 476–481, 515–518.
- 161 Croom, *Roman Furniture*, 116–117.
- 162 Andrianou, "Chairs, Beds, and Tables: Evidence for Furnished Interiors in Hellenistic Greece", 225, 231, 236–237; Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans*, 85–89.
- 163 *RIC* I², 33–36, 72; *RPC* I, 711, 724, 754–755, 1149, 3919.
- 164 Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans*, 102.
- 165 *RIC* I², 30; *RPC* I, 2368, 2697.
- 166 *RPC* I, 52, 1569.
- 167 *RPC* I, 341.
- 168 Croom, *Roman Furniture*, 109.
- 169 *RPC* I, 2467, 2647–2648.
- 170 *RIC* I², 44–45. Note that this coin has also been interpreted as Nero and Poppaea.
- 171 *RIC* I², 13–14.
- 172 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 154–156, nos. 18, 20 and 22 (Livia statue standing wearing stola); 146–147, no. 3; 157–158, nos. 27–28; 159–160, no. 33; 178–180, nos. 71 and 74.
- 173 Ibid. Note that the slightly bent leg pose varies in the statues from the right to left leg.
- 174 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 9, fig. 9 and 155–156, no. 22.
- 175 The coin of Neptune was issued under Caligula (*RIC* I², 58), the one of Ceres under Nero (*RIC* I², 23).
- 176 *LIMC* 4.1, s.v. "Demeter", p. 859, nos. 138, 140, 143; *LIMC* 4.1, s.v. "Hera", p. 667, nos. 60–61; p. 673, nos. 111–112; p. 677, no. 149; p. 700, no. 347.
- 177 Toynbee, "Picture-Language in Roman Art and Coinage", 220.
- 178 Ibid.
- 179 Bann, "Meaning/Interpretation", 128.

MAKING AN IMPRESSION? LIVIA ON COINS OF ROME VERSUS THE PROVINCES

Having mapped the visual elements that comprised Livia's programmatic commemoration on coins now we must turn to the question of how Rome and the provinces developed, adapted, adjusted and implemented that programme. While there is evidence in other media, namely sculpture, that a standard of representation for imperial family members was put forward by the ruling imperial regime in Rome, the coins indicate that this visual standard was not always strictly adhered to, but rather inspired local provincial types. During the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, Rome had its official imperial mints at Rome and Lugdunum, but many provincial cities continued to issue coins independently from Rome. These mints produced a wide range of images related to the emperor and his family. Therefore, coins played a significant role in the visual representation of not only the emperor, but also his female relatives, both in Rome and in the cities of the Empire. This explains why, perhaps more than any other historical coinage system, Roman imperial and provincial coins deployed a complex visual language of meaningfully constituted images for the purpose of disseminating imperial ideology.¹ Such ideology recognized Livia's significant status as key player in the perpetuation of the imperial dynasty, a role that often had divine connotations associated with it.

But here it is important to reiterate the fact that Livia's numismatic commemoration began at mints in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire during the reign of Augustus and only appeared in a significant way in the western Empire during the reign of Tiberius when Rome itself began issuing types that represented Livia in a more distinctive and intelligible way. As will be shown, the degree to which Livia's image impressed upon coin types varied from region to region, and at times seems quite irregular, making it difficult to understand whether these seemingly special issues were linked to noteworthy occasions such as anniversaries, official visits, or local events.² Horster has even proposed that there may have been a bit of rivalry between cities in Asia, which sought esteem from their imperial rulers through honouring them by placing their portraits and those of their family members on coins.³ Honouring Livia may have been rooted in more than the Hellenistic traditions of offering numismatic accolades to the ruler and his family, given that Livia seems to have played the role of patron in

several cities. Livia's acquaintance with the peoples of the provinces both in the East and the West would have been made when she accompanied Augustus on his tour of the Empire which took place sometime during the years 21–19 BCE.⁴ An inscription from Ephesus regards both Augustus and Livia as patrons,⁵ while another from Mytilene offers thanks to Livia for having acted on their behalf.⁶ There is evidence pertaining to her appeals to her husband on behalf of city-states and individuals. Augustus granted freedom to the Samians presumably as a result of Livia's lobbying.⁷ The appearance of Livia's portrait on coins of the Judaeian Kingdom may come as no surprise given the generosity of the imperial family, including Livia, towards it. She is also mentioned by name on a series of coins issued at Jerusalem under Tiberius.⁸ Augustus and Livia donated funds to help rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem.⁹ It is also important to note that Philip's brother, Herod Antipas, who became tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, renamed the city of Betharamphtha after Livia.¹⁰ While imperial patronage may have been a motive for honouring Livia on coins in some cities, it does not necessarily explain all instances where Livia was honoured through coins.

A look at the broader historical, epigraphical and art historical context provides some accounting for the appearance of Livia's image on provincial coins. Furthermore, the manner in which Livia was represented, whether as key female member of the Roman imperial family or as divine female figure, was influenced to great extent by local ideologies and perceptions of Livia's status and role in society. Despite local adaptations of Livia's image in order to communicate a persona of Livia that struck a chord of familiarity with viewers, there was still a desire to maintain, albeit to varying degrees, the visual programme for representing Livia set by Rome. The fusion of Roman imperial coin iconography with the local variations of it on provincial coin imagery reflects the complex socio-political relationships held between Rome and the provinces of the Empire.¹¹ Roman provincial cities, whether Roman colonies or those permitted to remain self-governing, had varying degrees of authority to issue coins dependent on that city's status within the Roman Empire. The varied statuses of provincial cities in turn led to the variety of coin types issued commemorating the imperial family.¹² As shall be seen, there was a greater freedom of expression in the provinces than at Rome with regard to Livia's numismatic representation, which communicated her perceived roles within the social, political and religious ideology of the Roman imperial regime.

Distribution and repetition of Livia's coin types throughout the Empire

The number of mints issuing coins of Livia (Figure 3.1 – chart/graph) varied from province to province and from reign to reign. The greatest number of mints issuing coins referring to Livia can be found in Asia at 36% of the total. All of the eastern mints combined make up nearly 70% of the total output of Livia coins, with the remainder coming from the western parts of the Empire. It is important to note

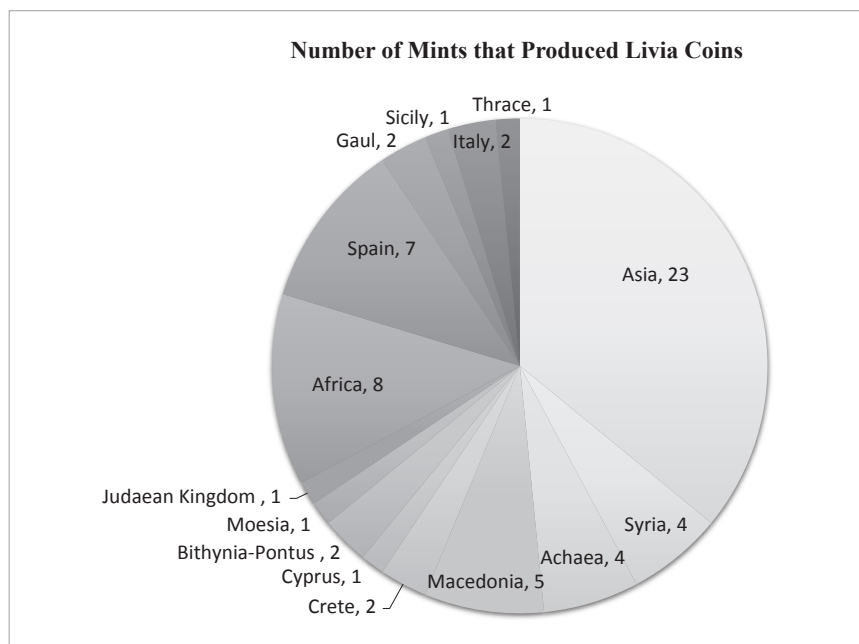


Figure 3.1 Statistical chart.

that there were other mints, but it appears no coins of Livia were issued by them. In fact, the majority of mints throughout the Empire remained silent regarding Livia during the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius and beyond. Of the minting cities of Asia active under the Julio-Claudians, 61 out of 101 mints issued coins presenting members of the imperial family; some cities chose to represent the imperial family somewhat consistently, while others were more sporadic.¹³ Compared to male imperial family members, the emperor in particular, the representation of female imperial family members on provincial coins was rare. Yet, my research indicates that approximately 180 different coin issues of varying types from mints in the eastern and western parts of the Roman Empire, including the imperial mint of Rome, bore reference to Livia. These coins were produced over the course of reigns from Augustus to Antoninus Pius with the majority produced during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. More will be said about the nature and quantity of these types according to the eastern and western provinces and the city of Rome below, which will shed light on the regional variations, their significance regarding Livia and the ideology surrounding her numismatic images.

The instances where Livia was mentioned on coins of the mints of the provinces seems sporadic and does not follow a consistent pattern from reign to reign. Bearing in mind that the appearance of the portraits of Roman rulers and their

significant family members on coins was relatively new, even under Augustus, the practice eventually gained momentum under his successor Tiberius and future emperors. The common formula for the representation of imperial personages on imperial coins was the portrait of the emperor or empress on the obverse, a religious image pertaining to the issuing city on the reverse, along with legends referring to the individuals by name, the name of the issuing city and/or local magistrates.¹⁴ Burnett has noted that while Hellenistic kings had placed their portraits on their own gold and silver coins, the coins issued by the cities in their kingdoms often adhered to traditional civic types leaving royal portraits mostly absent from them, but under Augustus a move towards more commonplace recognition of the emperor and his family on the coins of the provinces became markedly apparent.¹⁵ The issuing of Livia coins by eastern mints began under the reign of Augustus and continued into the reign of Livia's son and Augustus's successor Tiberius. Under Augustus, these mints were confined to a few cities in Egypt, Syria, Achaea, Macedonia, Moesia, Bithynia and Thrace with the highest number of mints being in Asia. There are also possible Augustan candidates from the western mints of the Roman colonies Lugdunum (Gaul) and Pax Iulia (Spain). Under Tiberius, the number of cities issuing coin types of Livia increased to include additional mints in Spain, Africa, Crete, Cyprus, the Judaeen Kingdom, Sicily and Italy. Additional cities in Asia and Achaea issued coins as well. The appearance of Livia on the coins of the provinces was precedent setting and indicates that these coin issues were intended to honour Livia and recognize her specific status and gender roles in support of the imperial regime.

In contrast to the provinces, Livia's image rarely found a place on the coins of the mint of Rome. A denarius issued in Rome (Figure 3.2) in 13 BCE, which has been interpreted by many to contain the profile portrait of Augustus's daughter Julia between those of her two sons Gaius and Lucius, in actuality may be a representation of Livia – an interpretation I will discuss later.¹⁶ The mint of Rome produced its first coin showing an undeniable portrait of Livia in 22–23 CE, the so-called *Salus Augusta* dupondius (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.1), but began issuing types of Livia as seated female figure from the beginning of Tiberius's reign in 14 CE. Coins representing Livia were also issued by the emperor Claudius when he had her deified in 42 CE. She was recalled on the coins of Augusta (Syria) during the reign of Nero and again as the deified Livia under the emperor Galba during Rome's civil wars of 68–69 CE, most likely in an effort to claim descent from her. After this time, only scattered coins of Livia occur on restoration issues of Titus and Trajan,¹⁷ as well as some commemorative issues of Antoninus Pius depicting statues of Augustus and Livia in the Temple of the Deified Augustus, which he had restored.¹⁸

One method of gauging the impact of coin types and their texts is by establishing the relative frequencies of different designs throughout the Empire during a particular time frame.¹⁹ While there is evidence that most coin types representing Livia were repeated from province to province and conveyed messages that transcended multiple visual media including sculpture, it is difficult to gauge precisely how many of these coin types were issued and how extensively these



Figure 3.2 AR Denarius from Rome with reverse portraits of Livia (or Julia?) in between those of Gaius and Lucius Caesar. 13 BCE. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

coins circulated throughout the Empire. One of the primary methods used for determining the degree of output and frequency of types is through die studies, which can be accomplished only if a substantial body of evidence survives and is readily accessible.²⁰ In the case of coins of Livia, the best examples from several major collections have been published in the first volumes respectively of *Roman Imperial Coinage* and *Roman Provincial Coinage*, while the remaining examples circulate through various coin dealer and coin auction sites on the World Wide Web. Even some of the best examples of these coins, especially in the case of provincial bronzes, are too worn to effectively carry out such a die study.

Another way to establish output and circulation of specific types is through hoard evidence.²¹ Such hoard analyses and establishment of frequency of types plays an important role in understanding the purpose and communicative potential of coin types.²² An exhaustive study of coin hoards is beyond the scope of this study and likely would not bear much fruit given that the majority of coins referring to Livia were provincial bronze coins issued primarily for local use and circulation.²³ A further challenge one faces when studying hoard evidence is that those recording the hoards often do not indicate in their documentation of the hoard the specific coin types present along with appropriate references, simply stating instead the number of coins from each emperor that exist within the hoard and their denominations.²⁴ Therefore, we may never know the true extent of the circulation of coins referring to Livia. Yet, several hoards that contain Livia coins in bronze denominations indicate that these coins likely did not

travel far from their point of issue, including one found along the city wall at Paphos in Cyprus which contained 4–5 Tiberian coins depicting Livia seated on the reverse that were clearly issued at the local mint.²⁵ A further example can be cited in coins found during excavations at the Anubieion, North Saqqara where two coins of Livia were found.²⁶ On the other hand, if we are to take the aurei and denarii of Augustus and Tiberius issued at Lugdunum with the seated female figure on the reverses as Livia as Pax or Ceres, these precious metal coins can be found throughout the Empire and circulated due to their economic value and were placed in hoards for these purposes.²⁷ The volume and extent to which these coins circulated may have contributed to the impact of the types conveyed on their obverses and reverses.

With respect to the mints across the Empire that produced coins pertaining to Livia, the geographical distribution of these coins must seem fairly widespread, but the number of mints producing such coin types and the number of types themselves was significantly less so. It is also important to bear in mind that the majority of these coins were intended for local use. The number of mints producing coins depicting the emperor was much more substantial, as were the variety of types, naturally. Do these statistics indicate that the coins referring to Livia lacked significance or potency? For the most part, it is prudent to say that since coin types referring to Livia do not survive in large quantities or in a large number of hoards, we should not, as Elkins warns, read too much into or overstate the significance of the coin types.²⁸ Yet at the same time we must not simply pass over coin types that may not have been as common, nor circulated as widely. Rowan states that coin issues that were in smaller quantity were no less important in significance.²⁹ Most importantly, the cities of the provinces, which were generally free to choose their own coin types, did so as an expression of their city's identity and status and to illustrate their good relations with the emperor and his family.³⁰ In light of this freedom to choose coin types, it is interesting that during the reign of Tiberius Livia is commemorated on provincial coins more often than the deified Augustus.³¹ In order to gauge the impact and significance of coin types of Livia issued at Rome and in the provinces of the Empire, we must consider them within the broader numismatic, iconographic and epigraphic contexts in which they functioned. The semantic formulas for images of Livia presented on coins can also be found in representations of her in sculpture and intaglios/cameos, as we have seen in Chapter 2. Also, those coin types of male imperial family members, in particular the emperor, issued alongside those of Livia factored more prominently on coins (and expectedly so). This fact does not overshadow the significance of Livia coin types, but rather elucidates that they were part of an overall dialogue orchestrated locally to emphasize and honour the emperor, his family, the imperial dynasty and the power and influence of this ruling regime. The significance of the representation of Livia on coins in relation to her male imperial family members, in particular Augustus and Tiberius, and the multiplicity of messages behind them will follow later in the chapter and in Chapter 4.

Repetition and distribution of Livia types at eastern mints

As has already been mentioned, the eastern mints were the first to issue coins referring to Livia and they were more prolific in their commemoration of Livia than any other region, even more so than the imperial mint of Rome itself. Discussions on the origins of the commemoration of Roman women on coins in Chapter 1 established that such tradition was rooted in that of the Hellenistic Greek East where female members of various Hellenistic royal families, in particular the wives of rulers and mothers of successors, were promoted on coins as key players in the perpetuation of their respective dynasties. As Figure 3.1 illustrates, Asian mints lead in the production of coins referring to Livia over the course of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. A total of 23 out of 84, approximately 27%, of Asian mints operating over the course of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius issued coins pertaining to Livia. Under Augustus, only eleven mints issued coins of Livia, which increased to 16 under Tiberius. Seven of the mints that issued coins of Livia under Augustus did not continue to issue such coins under Tiberius. Of the mints issuing coins of Livia during the reign of Tiberius, twelve had done so for the first time. Only the mints Eumeneia, Magnesia ad Sipylum, Pergamum and Smyrna issued coins of Livia over the course of both reigns. The reason for this lack of consistency in the issuing of coins pertaining to Livia across mints and the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius is difficult to explain, but in some instances mints did not issue coins regularly over time, but only as needed.³² While the number of mints and coin types of Livia issued in the province of Asia outnumbered those produced at the mint of Rome, the number of mints issuing Livia coins when compared to the total operating in Asia is quite modest, which implies a desire to honour Livia, but much more reservedly than her male counterparts, in particular Augustus and Tiberius.

An examination of the mints of the other provinces of the Hellenistic Greek East shows that similar characteristics exist where Livia's promotion on coins is less than that of the emperor, which is to be expected. Provinces such as Achaea and Macedonia had far fewer mints in operation than Asia during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, but not all of them issued coins consistently from reign to reign, but of the ones that did, Livia found a place on a few issues. Syria had about 50 mints issuing coins off and on during the reigns of the Julio-Claudian emperors, but only a few cities issued coins of Livia, including the city of Augusta, founded and named after Livia in 20 CE.³³ The Judaeen Kingdom also re-established the city Bethsaida and named it Julias, after Livia, in 30 CE at which time it appears coins were minted under Philip, son of King Herod, to commemorate that event.³⁴ The mint of Alexandria in Egypt had a long tradition of commemorating royal women under the Ptolemies, so it perhaps comes as no surprise that Livia would find a noteworthy place of the coins of this mint.

The manner in which Livia is portrayed on coins of eastern mints appears to follow a standard that is generally adhered to from mint to mint and reign to reign,

although there are a couple of exceptions. For example, the coin portraits of Livia issued at Asian mints under Augustus incorporated some variant of the nodus style with the Marbury Hall type being particularly popular.³⁵ Coins of Chalcis and the Thessalian League issued during this same time also adhered to presenting portraits of Livia with the nodus hairstyle.³⁶ The same portrait type can be found at the Thessalonica mint in Macedonia and Alexandria in Egypt,³⁷ while Syria seemed to prefer this type on coins issued under Augustus and Tiberius.³⁸ The appearance of this typically Augustan hairstyle on coins of Syria as opposed to the middle part hairstyle so readily used in Livia's portraits under Tiberius seems odd, but was reminiscent of a signature style employed in Livia's visual repertoire that marked her status as a distinguished Roman matron. On the other hand, one exceptional type was issued at Pergamum (see Figure 3.14) which depicts Livia wearing the Zopf type hairstyle, a style that was also employed in at least one sculptural portrait of Livia hailing from the province.³⁹ A coin portrait of Livia produced at Edessa in Macedonia during the reign of Tiberius also depicts the empress wearing the Zopf type hairstyle, indicating that the use of a particular hairstyle in a coin portrait was not always restricted to the fashion standard at the time.⁴⁰ The variations in the standard hairstyle types in the coin portraits of Livia were the result, on the one hand, of artistic licence of the die engravers, but also of the collective tastes of the social group that produced them.⁴¹

During the reign of Tiberius, the middle part hairstyle employed in Livia's Salus coin portrait issued at Rome was now incorporated into Livia's provincial coin portraits (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.1).⁴² An examination of the coins from Magnesia ad Sipylum in Asia shows that there was a marked transition from the Marbury Hall nodus style variant under Augustus to the Salus middle part hairstyle under Tiberius.⁴³ Other mints throughout the east issued coins depicting Livia with this hairstyle including Thessalonica (see Ch.4, Figure 4.6), Corinth, and an exceptional silver didrachm from Byzantium in Thrace (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.9), upon which the deified Augustus and Livia are commemorated incorporating an exquisite reverse portrait of Livia based on the Salus coin portrait of her issued at Rome.⁴⁴

This consistency in typological usage implies that the mints in the East, as well as in the West as we shall see, were trying to follow standards of portrait image design for Livia that were culturally set and most likely initiated by those closest to the imperial regime in Rome; iconographic and ideological standards that were followed, albeit not strictly, in a variety of visual media including sculpture and coins.⁴⁵ Given that it is plausible that no coins of Livia were issued at Rome under Augustus, and certainly none survive showing her portrait alone on obverse or reverse, there are no clear coins of Rome from the Augustan era that could have served as models. Under Tiberius, on the other hand, we notice a deliberate effort on the part of mints in the provinces to copy not only the Salus dupondius issued at Rome in 22–23 CE, but also the coins depicting the portraits of personified Pietas and Iustitia (Figure 3.3 and 3.4) that were issued along with the Salus one. Although Livia is not directly referred to by name on any of the



Figure 3.3 AE Dupondius from Rome with portrait of the personification Pietas on the obverse. 22–23 CE. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.



Figure 3.4 AE Dupondius from Rome with portrait of the personification of Iustitia on the obverse. 22–23 CE. Photo credit: Jack Hase. Courtesy of Mr. Terence Cheesman.

coins of Rome, the provinces were interpreting the images on them as Livia, with some saying so directly on the coins legends. However, this depended somewhat on the status of the city, whether Greek city or Roman colony. A comparison of coins from Greek cities of Macedonia such as Thessalonica and Amphipolis



Figure 3.5 AE Leaded Bronze Semis from Amphipolis (Macedonia) with Livia as Pietas on the obverse accompanied by the legend IOYΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΑ. Undated, reign of Tiberius. Photo credit: Jack Hase. Courtesy of the Museum of Antiquities, University of Saskatchewan.

with those from the Roman colony of Pella/Dium reveals the difference between Roman practices for the commemoration of imperial family members and those of the local Greek inhabitants of the province. Thessalonica and Amphipolis issued types resembling the *Salus*, *Pietas* and *Iustitia dupondii* of Rome,⁴⁶ which refer to Livia by the title ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ or more directly as IOYΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΑ as at Amphipolis (Figure 3.5), while Pella/Dium did as well, but with legends PIETAS and PIETAS AVGVSTA corresponding strictly to the prototypes issued at Rome.⁴⁷ A similar instance can be found in Achaia. The coin types issued at Corinth, a Roman colony and by the Thessalian League in Greece during the reign of Tiberius also correspond very closely to those issued at Rome. A couple of types were undoubtedly adapted from the *Salus*, *Pietas* and *Iustitia dupondii* issued at Rome in 22–23 CE, but Livia is not identified directly by name on the coin legends, although the Thessalian League coin does contain the legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΩΝ⁴⁸ which typically included Livia as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. This title was associated with her on Greek coins even under Augustus, although always as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ alongside her portrait jugate with that of her husband.⁴⁹ On the one hand the Roman colonies issued coins of Livia adhering to the iconography and legend formula set by Rome, which would have indicated to the colonists that they were looking at a representation of Livia despite the lack of identifying legend, particularly in the case of the *Salus* coins. The lack of her mention by name was not an indication of a desire to subdue Livia's representation on coins,⁵⁰ since there is clear evidence on Livia's coins in the western provinces, which indicates

that colonies in other provinces such as Africa and Spain did not hesitate to refer to Livia by name. The Greek cities, on the other hand, identified Livia by name, and as divine as we shall see, in a manner that was in tune with their traditional practices for honouring their rulers and respective families.

The coin type of Livia seated, which may have first appeared on the aurei and denarii of Lugdunum late in the reign of Augustus, and then appeared on asses of Rome early in the reign of Tiberius, was also echoed on coins of various mints in the East. The type seems to have first appeared late in the reign of Augustus on the reverse of a bronze coin issued at an uncertain mint in Bithynia.⁵¹ The figure is shown holding a double cornucopia on her lap and, despite being unnamed in the coin legend, is identified as Livia on account of the presence of the jugate portrait of Augustus and Livia on the obverse.⁵² Both the Roman colony of Corinth and the Thessalian League issued coins with the seated Livia type, but without textual reference to Livia.⁵³ In Macedonia, both Dium and Thessalonica issued types of the seated Livia holding patera and sceptre.⁵⁴ As in the case of the portrait types discussed earlier, the Thessalonica version refers to Livia as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ while the ones from Dium do not. In addition to the issue of coins at Asia bearing Livia portraits that corresponded to specific standards and preferred styles, it is important to note that several mints also issued coins showing Livia seated. Corresponding to the seated types of the Rome mint, these types were issued during Tiberius's reign and seem to follow a design similar to those issued at Rome and Lugdunum, but with subtle variants in attributes.⁵⁵ Many of these coins show Livia holding ears of grain or poppies as opposed to a patera. The coins from Mysomakedones, Pergamum and Sardis refer to the seated Livia figure as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ.

The seated Livia figure was also found on coins of Sinope in Pontus, Cyprus, Cnossus in Crete and Tarsus in Syria.⁵⁶ Nearly all of these coins with the seated female figure, with the exception of those from Sinope, where a Roman colony was located, refer to Livia directly by name in either Greek or Latin. But perhaps most interesting is the coin from the mint at Cnossus, the location of the Roman colony Colonia Iulia Nobilis and that from Cyprus, a senatorial province, where the seated figure is directly identified in the coin legends as IVLIA AVGVSTA indicating that whether Roman colony or not, these coins were widely perceived to bear images of Livia seated.

Several sculptural portraits of Livia survive from the eastern provinces and would have worked in tandem with coins to communicate the ideology surrounding Livia's persona and roles within Roman imperial society. As indicated in Chapter 2, numerous portraits of Livia wearing the nodus and middle part hair-styles have been found throughout Greece, Asia Minor and Crete. Some of these sculptures hail from places like Aphrodisias and Ephesus, where coins depicting Livia were also issued.⁵⁷ The numismatic evidence that various mints of the eastern part of the Empire, whether indigenous city or Roman colony, were copying portrait sculptures and coin types that almost certainly had been designed at Rome, indicates that these were images that had been officially sanctioned by and appealed to the central authority. Roman colonies and local Greek cities alike

certainly felt compelled to copy these image types on their coins as a sign of tribute and loyalty to the emperor and the imperial family. The fact that each of the cities also issued coins promoting the imperial family, including Livia, indicates that a concerted programme was in place for representing the imperial family in a variety of visual media. This programme was more prolific and prominent in the East than in any other part of the Roman Empire in large part due to long-standing Hellenistic traditions for the commemoration of women connected to the ruling regime of the realm. There is ample evidence in the East, and in the West as we shall see, that the numismatic and sculptural records roughly corresponded with one another as part of a visual programme that reflected the imperial ideology pertaining to Livia and her roles and status within Roman imperial society.

Repetition and distribution of Livia types at western mints

As Figure 3.1 illustrates, the commemoration of Livia on coins of mints of the western provinces was far less pronounced than those of the east. Bearing in mind that the mints of the western regions of the Empire issued coins of Livia primarily during the reign of Tiberius, there appears to be a significant desire to follow an iconographic standard set by the mint of Rome, with many types being borrowed and, in some cases, adapted. Spain and Africa issued some noteworthy examples that copy types of Rome, namely the seated female figure, Salus, Pietas and Iustitia types, but they also placed legends on them referring to Livia directly, which did not appear on the coins of Rome.

Perhaps the most prolific Livia type reproduced at mints in the western provinces is that issued on asses of Rome (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.11) that depict Livia with head veiled, seated on a throne holding a patera and sceptre. The type appeared on the obverse of a bronze coin of Panormus in Sicily during the reign of Tiberius, although the seated figure is quite roughly rendered artistically and is unnamed.⁵⁸ This coin type is the most recurrent coin type of Livia to be found in Africa with all of the participating mints except for Oea producing some version of it. The types issued are very similar to that issued at Rome in the early years of Tiberius's reign.⁵⁹ However, not all of them depicted the seated female figure holding the patera and sceptre, but rather ears of grain in place of the patera. Nonetheless, nearly all show the same type of chair matching that depicted on the coins of Rome, which means that the mints issuing this type endeavoured to adhere to the standard set by Rome for representing Livia in this particular mode. The seated Livia figure also appeared on coins issued in the Spanish provinces during Tiberius's reign. The mint of Caesaraugusta in Tarraconensis issued a seated Livia type based on that issued at Rome in the early years of Tiberius's reign.⁶⁰ This same mint also issued coins depicting Tiberius seated,⁶¹ clearly counterparts to the seated Livia coins, as well as those of the emperor and Divus Augustus shown seated that were issued at Rome.⁶² The figure is accompanied by the legend IVLIA AVGVSTA which leaves no doubt as to whom the colonists interpreted the figure to be. This type remains consistent amongst other Spanish colonies such

as Italica (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.18) and Emerita (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.1), which issued similar types with the corresponding IVLIA AVGVSTA legend.⁶³ Interestingly, in each of these cases the configuration of the seated figure is quite different from that at Rome: the Emerita coin shows on its reverse Livia seated with head bare, holding a torch rather than a sceptre, as well as ears of grain; the one at Italica depicts Livia seated in a more relaxed pose on a very ornate throne. These iconographic differences demonstrate a desire to associate Livia with the divine figures of Ceres as per the torch, and Juno as in the latter type.

The seated female figure type on aurei and denarii issued at the imperial mint at Lugdunum (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.12) in Gaul late in the reign of Augustus and then early in the reign of Tiberius may have served as the prototype for the seated female figure on Tiberius's *aes* coins of 15–16 CE, and those subsequently found on various provincial coins. Thus, some have argued that this Lugdunum type may refer indirectly to Livia.⁶⁴ Pollini has argued that in no way can the figure be identified as Livia given the small size of the facial features, the generalized nature of the hair and the lack of identifying inscription.⁶⁵ What Pollini does not take into account is that the viewer does not need precise facial features in order to identify the image as being symbolic of a particular person. What makes the association of this seated female figure type with Livia highly probable is the fact that a number of the western mints issuing this type refer to Livia by name in the legend, as happened on many of the seated female figure coin types issued in the east. On coins of the colonial mints of Africa, as well as the municipium of Utica, the seated figure remained unnamed, perhaps staying in accordance with the asses issued in Rome.⁶⁶ However, free cities all refer to Livia on the legends of the coins either directly by name as in IVL(ia) AVG(usta) at Hippo Regius, indirectly and in connection with various goddesses as in CERERI AVGVSTAE and IVN(oni) AVGVSTAE at Thapsus, or with the very distinct title of AVGVSTA MATER PATRIA(e), “Augusta Mother of the Country”, as at Lepcis Magna (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.2).⁶⁷ The presence of these legends indicates that, even though Livia may not have been referred to by name as in the case of the seated Livia types at Rome, the seated type most plausibly was perceived as Livia by viewers of the coins.

Several mints in the west issued coins bearing Livia's portrait, but these were not as common as the seated figure types. Again, we see an interest in maintaining the portrait standards set by the mint of Rome, but the degree of fineness of execution varies from very fine to fairly rough facial features that make it difficult to identify these images as Livia without some other indication such as direct reference to her via coin legends or as part of a clearly coordinated numismatic programme of imperial family types. As has been seen in Livia's portrait coin types of the Greek East, there were also types issued in the West that were undoubtedly adapted from the Salus, Pietas and Iustitia types of Rome issued in 22–23 CE. The mint at Oea in Africa issued two types (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.6 and Figure 3.17) that clearly duplicate the Salus type of Rome, and have been dated to after that date on these grounds, but these do not bear any legend.⁶⁸ Several coins from Emerita in Spain

are most certainly based on the Salus type as indicated by the obverse legend PERM(issu) AVGVSTI SALVS AVGVSTA,⁶⁹ even though the portraits more so mimic the type given their rough rendering. One interesting example from this mint has the Salus portrait on the obverse with this same legend as the previous coin mentioned, while the reverse depicts the seated female figure with direct reference to Livia in the legend C(olonia) A(ugusta) E(merita) IVLIA AVGVSTA (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.1).⁷⁰ What is interesting about these coins is that Emerita was a Roman colony, here referring to Livia directly by name in contrast with Rome, yet they clearly had the emperor's permission to do so.

The Pietas type of Rome that was issued at the same time as the Salus one was also replicated in the coin types of the western provinces. Caesaraugusta in Spain issued types that recall the Pietas type issued at Rome, and includes the epithet *Augusta*, which associated the type with Livia.⁷¹ Thapsus in Africa also issued one that seems to show Livia veiled and diademed but facing left rather than right, and associating her with the goddess Juno in the legend THAPSVM IVN(oni) AVGVSTAE.⁷² There is also an intriguing one from an uncertain mint at Gaul that shows the head of Livia veiled, but with diadem and nodus hairstyle as well, and bearing facial features that are strikingly typical for portraits of Livia.⁷³ The image is all surrounded by a wreath of grain, but does not have a legend, which implies a link to Ceres. A bronze coin from Panormus in Sicily also issued coins of Livia with head veiled like the Pietas type but with a *corona spicea* (crown of ears of grain) of Ceres, along with the identifying legend AVGVS(ta).⁷⁴ Based on the iconography and legends of these coins, there is a clear indication that mints were associating the Pietas type with Livia as well. The presence of the Salus and Pietas types in the west, as well as the east, and their association with Livia indicates that these images were both identified as Livia and/or associated with her persona ideologically.

As in the case of the provinces of the east, a number of sculptural portraits of Livia survive from the western provinces, with some originating from areas where coins commemorating Livia were also issued. In Africa for example, a significant number of portrait sculptures of Livia survive from Carthage and Lepcis Magna.⁷⁵ Two from Carthage may have formed part of dynastic family groups,⁷⁶ as well as several from Lepcis Magna.⁷⁷ The presence of a statue of Livia seated at Lepcis Magna corresponds with the seated Livia coin types issued at that mint. Several portrait sculptures of Livia have also been found in various parts of Spain.⁷⁸ One from Aeminium depicts Livia with head veiled and in the Salus mode, while another from Iponuba depicts Livia seated with head veiled and holding a cornucopia, which certainly echoes the seated Livia coin types from Rome, while the cornucopia can be found on coin types from Irippu and Pax Iulia.⁷⁹ Direct connections between these sculptures and the coins of minting cities are difficult to define unless they can be traced as part of a local programme for commemorating the imperial family, which will be discussed further. Yet, Livia clearly had a presence in the visual media of the western provinces. The presence of sculptural honours for Livia alongside the coin issues commemorating her express the degree to which she was venerated as a key figure in the imperial family.

**Livia incognito: the presence and absence of Livia's
image on the coins of the mint of Rome**

Thus far, I have noted here and there that Livia did not have a place of prominence on the coins of Rome when compared to the provinces. But, the presence of Livia's image on the coins of Rome needs to be addressed for us to gain an understanding of the development of the commemoration of imperial women, for which Livia served as model. During Augustus's reign, images depicting the emperor and his military, political and religious achievements became the defining feature of the coins. By the time Augustus was declared *pater patriae*, father of his country, in 2 BCE, the names of moneyers, a long-standing tradition on Republican coins, had disappeared from the coins altogether (although the office very likely still existed), and the emperor's image, and those of his close family members, dominated the coinage to create a discourse on dynastic intentions and the stability of state that the imperial family provided. However, coin images of female members of Rome's imperial family produced by the mint of Rome were exceedingly rare during the reign of Augustus and throughout much of the reigns of the Julio-Claudians.⁸⁰ The majority of coins produced throughout the Empire held the image of the emperor himself. Even the first coins of Livia issued by Rome were few. Only one coin issued during Augustus's reign, a silver denarius of 13 BCE, may depict either his daughter Julia or Livia, but the interpretation of this coin can be readily debated. The first strong candidate for Livia's portrait appeared on the *Salus Augusta* dupondius of Tiberius in 22–23 CE, but this was preceded by coins depicting a seated female figure which, as we have already seen, could readily be interpreted as Livia. The *Salus* coin also commemorated the celebration of Livia's recovery from grave illness, and coincided with offerings and games of thanksgiving to the gods for this blessing, as decreed by the Senate.⁸¹ Livia was also honoured, but without her portrait, on a sestertius of 22–23 CE (Figure 3.6) showing a *carpentum* on the obverse accompanied by her name IVLIAE AVGVST(ae).⁸² This coin along with various ancient literary sources indicate that Livia likely received the privilege of riding in a *carpentum*, an honour normally reserved for Vestal Virgins.⁸³ Livia was once again commemorated on the coins of the Rome mint during the reign of Claudius in a single commemorative issue marking her deification (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.16). She was only sparingly recalled on later coins, including several issues under Galba (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.20), who recognized Livia as both a goddess and an important female ancestor,⁸⁴ while Titus and Trajan recalled Livia on a couple of restoration issues.⁸⁵ Antoninus Pius also issued aurei and denarii, as well as bronze denominations commemorating the deified Augustus and Livia with a type depicting their statues set within an octastyle temple.⁸⁶ Even though coins of the mint of Rome referring to Livia seem few and far between, they must be considered within the context of other coins that were issued alongside them as part of a series. While there are various definitions of the term "series", here it refers to a collection of related coin types of particular denomination(s) issued by a mint over the course of a specific and concise period of time.⁸⁷



Figure 3.6 AE Sestertius from Rome with an ornate *carpentum* and Livia's name IVLIAE AVGVST on the obverse. 22–23 CE. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

The coins that Rome issued with the image of Livia were often part of a series of coin types that commemorated not only Livia, but also other key members of the Roman imperial family to form a set of coins promoting the imperial dynasty. The first coin of Rome that quite plausibly bears the first numismatic portrait of Livia was issued in 13 BCE by the moneyer C. Marius C. f. Tromentina (Figure 3.2). The obverse bears Augustus's portrait, while the reverse depicts a female portrait facing right in between two male portraits often interpreted as Augustus's grandsons Gaius and Lucius Caesar, his successors and sons by adoption. The female portrait is accompanied by an oak wreath above, echoing the one that surrounds Augustus's obverse portrait, which many consider to be the symbol that identifies the portrait as Julia, Augustus's daughter.⁸⁸ The same moneyer in the same year also issued a coin type depicting Augustus and Agrippa standing togate beside each other, as well as one that depicted the goddess Diana on the reverse, which has been interpreted by Angelova to be a portrait of Livia.⁸⁹ While scholars have consistently made the case for Julia as the female portrait contained in this coin, alongside Gaius and Lucius,⁹⁰ the lack of identifying legend along with the ambiguity of the image and the fact that Livia was the *materfamilias* of the imperial family, makes an interpretation of this figure as Livia most probable.⁹¹ Interestingly, one of the seated female figure types issued on bronze coins of Tiberius and often identified as Livia has the same oak wreath depicted above her head, which further lends support to the possibility that the female portrait on the Augustan denarius is Livia.⁹²

Nonetheless, these coins make clear who the key players were in Augustus's dynastic plan, and the same inclination can be seen under Tiberius. The asses issued by Tiberius in 15–16 CE, which depict Livia seated but unnamed on the reverses, all contain either the obverse portrait of Tiberius or of the deified Augustus, thus emphasizing Livia as a binding link between deified father and Tiberius as son and successor. The noteworthy *Salus Augusta* coin portrait of Livia issued in 22–23 CE was issued alongside coins commemorating Tiberius and Drusus the Younger, as well as Drusus's twin sons.⁹³ At this same time the *carpentum* sestertius and the *Iustitia* and *Pietas* dupondii were issued, in which case the latter two were interpreted as representations of Livia in the provinces. These coins were undoubtedly part of various series promoting key members of the current ruling dynasty and the qualities *Salus* (security, well-being), *Iustitia* (justice) and *Pietas* (devotion to state and family) which characterized it.

But was Livia really as obscure in the Augustan and Tiberian dynastic dialogue as the coins of Rome seem to imply? Despite the apparent rarity of references to Livia on the coins of Rome, we see significant representations of her in familial statue groups and in inscriptions throughout Italy that highlight Livia's place in the imperial family and imperial cult, with divine associations that come to be echoed in the provinces. Numerous dynastic group portraits of the imperial family set up in Rome and Italy during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius included images of Livia along with inscriptions identifying the figures depicted by name.⁹⁴ During Augustus's reign familial sculptural representations, such as that found on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, were set up in Rome. Under Tiberius, a commemorative group that contained statues of Augustus, Tiberius and Livia seated was quite plausibly recalled in the seated Livia coin types of Rome from 15–16 CE, which were accompanied by coin types that also depicted Tiberius and the deified Augustus seated.⁹⁵ In addition to these statue groups at Rome, Livia's image was part of statuary groups at Cumae, Forum Clodii, Velleia, Herculaneum, Ocrinum, Paestum and Ravenna.⁹⁶ Furthermore, and likely associated with these familial group statue portraits, there is evidence for active imperial cult worship in Italy that may have begun during the time of Augustus and continued to flourish during the reigns of his successors. For example, the inscription from Forum Clodii is a decree that mentions the dedication of the statue group placed in an aedicula near the *Ara Numinis Augusti*, but also the honours and rituals to be observed on the birthdays of Augustus, Tiberius and Livia.⁹⁷ In the case of Livia, this included offerings to the goddess *Bona Dea*, with whom Livia also had connections at Rome having commissioned the restoration of this goddess's temple on the Aventine sometime during the reign of Augustus.⁹⁸ At Falerii, an inscription attests to a dedication to the *genius* of Augustus and Tiberius, and to the *Juno* of Livia, which refers to the worship of these imperial family members during their lifetimes.⁹⁹ The contemporary poet Ovid even instructs his wife to perform rites to the cult of Augustus, Tiberius and Livia,¹⁰⁰ and Ovid states that he himself owned a silver image of Livia.¹⁰¹

Later emperors Claudius and Galba both commemorated Livia as *diva* on coins of Rome. Claudius' dupondius, c. 41 to 50 CE, depicting the deified Livia seated on

an ornate throne with the attributes of the mother goddess Ceres, a torch and ears of grain/poppies, embodied the iconographic tone for Livia's representation as a goddess (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.16), which had already been set through the earlier representations of her as a seated figure on the coins of Tiberius,¹⁰² as well as references to her as Ceres/Demeter on coins in the provinces, to be discussed. This same seated *Diva Augusta*, with the same regal pose but with slightly different attributes of patera and sceptre, and occasionally with ears of grain in place of the sceptre, was also issued by Galba on sestertii of Rome in 68–69 CE.¹⁰³ On these examples, Livia is simply referred to as AVGVSTA, but the attributes and pose of the seated figure leave little doubt that this is a representation of Livia.¹⁰⁴ In addition to these sestertii, Galba issued a series of aurei and denarii with Livia standing holding patera and sceptre along with the corresponding legend DIVA AVGVSTA.¹⁰⁵ This representation of the goddess Livia standing was also featured on a series of aurei, denarii and asses issued by the mint of Tarraco in Spain.¹⁰⁶ Both emperors looked to Livia as their divine ancestress. While Claudius had a direct familial connection as Livia's grandson, Galba had received favour from Livia early in his career and even claimed to be related to her through his stepmother Livia Ocellina, who also claimed to be related to the empress.¹⁰⁷ Through these coins, along with an extensive restoration issue of coin types originally issued under Augustus, Galba sought to link himself to the first *princeps* and thereby legitimize his right to rule.¹⁰⁸ The fall of Nero marked the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Thus, an air of uncertainty loomed at Rome, which Galba and those who supported him likely desired to assuage through this connection to the Julio-Claudians.

While there appears to be a sharp contrast between Livia's acknowledgement on coins of Rome and her worship and honour as the key female member of the Roman imperial family, the sparse representations of Livia on the coins of Augustus and Tiberius from the mint of Rome indicates a degree of conservatism amidst a growing trend towards increasing the public roles and divine honours being bestowed upon female imperial family members. The lack of identifying legends on coins bearing purported images of Livia is a testament to the reserved experimentation that was taking place to determine the appropriate methods and iconography for representing female imperial family members in art and on coins in such a way that these images would be received favourably by their audiences, which included not only the inhabitants of Rome and the Empire, but also the imperial family members themselves. Such reservation seems to have abated somewhat with the coins of Claudius and Galba of Livia as *Diva Augusta*. Yet, as we have seen and will continue to examine, these images were imitated on the coins of the provinces, and imbued with further identifying texts and imagery that made clear how Livia was viewed as *materfamilias* and divine personage throughout the Roman Empire.

Livia and the perpetuation of the Augustan dynasty

One of the most predominant themes conveyed on the coins of Livia issued by eastern and western mints, which echoed the coin series issued at Rome, was the

relationship of Livia to the emperor and to other key members, especially male successors, of the imperial family. During the reign of Augustus, Livia was shown as the wife of the emperor, and the mother of his successors, first Gaius and Lucius and then, after their untimely deaths, her own son Tiberius. Under Tiberius, Livia was promoted as mother of the emperor, but also as the daughter of Augustus, having been adopted into the *gens Iulia* upon his death and now known widely in inscriptions and on coins as Iulia Augusta or Ιουλίᾱ Σεβαστή. Assemblages of coins were issued throughout the Empire depicting various members of the Roman imperial family as part of a numismatic dialogue communicating their dynastic intentions and how individual members of that family played a role in sustaining imperial power through the perpetuation of the dynasty.

Once again, one needs to first examine the earlier coins of Livia, which originated in the eastern provinces, where Livia's position as wife of the emperor and her place in the dynastic ideology of the Empire was a predominant theme with the coins of Asia perhaps being the most prolific. Asian mints issued coins highlighting the husband-wife relationship by depicting Livia along with Augustus on the same coin, whether jugate on the obverse,¹⁰⁹ facing each other on the obverse,¹¹⁰ or each on the opposite side of the same coin.¹¹¹ Some coins from cities in Achaea issued during the reign of Augustus, notably the cities Sparta and Chalcis, seem to draw special attention to Livia as wife of the emperor by giving her portrait a place of prominence on the obverses of the coins without an accompanying male imperial family member on the reverse.¹¹² In Sparta, these coins were issued alongside coins bearing portraits of Augustus and Agrippa.¹¹³

The jugate format, which is the most common, presents two portraits in profile and almost always facing right with one portrait partially superimposed upon the other. The popularity of the jugate or paired portraits of Augustus and Livia at several mints in the east speaks volumes as to the prominent status Augustus and Livia held in these eastern provinces as the quintessential royal power couple. As discussed in Chapter 1, the practice of producing such paired portraits on coins originated under Hellenistic monarchs, in particular the Ptolemies, whose tradition of depicting male and female royal family members together was eventually adopted for the representation of later Roman rulers and their family members primarily at eastern mints. The grouping of portraits, whether in sculpture, cameos, or coins, was developed in the late Classical period to advertise the ruling regime's distinguished ancestry and to promote dynastic succession.¹¹⁴ Cities and groups loyal to the ruling regime sought to strengthen their connections to them by commemorating members of the "royal" family in various media, with group statuary monuments being particularly popular.¹¹⁵ Some of the coin images of Octavia depicted her alongside key male counterparts, namely husband Antony and brother Octavian. Eventually paired portraits of Livia, either jugate or facing, were produced on provincial coins beginning under the reign of Augustus. Such coin configurations with paired portraits of Livia and another male family member are not found on coins of the western mints of the Empire until the reign of Tiberius. The jugate and facing portraits format did not find a place on coins of

the mint of Rome until 55 CE when Nero and his mother, Agrippina the Younger, were thus depicted together.¹¹⁶ This particular paired portrait format on coins of the mint of Rome remained quite rare.¹¹⁷

The first examples of Livia's portrait jugate with another male family member appeared on coins of the mint of Ephesus (Figure 3.7). The coins are not firmly dated, but scholars postulate a date more towards the middle of Augustus's reign.¹¹⁸ This was not the first appearance of such jugate-style portraits for the Ephesus mint, which had issued them during the Second Triumvirate.¹¹⁹ In addition to various mints in Asia already mentioned, instances of jugate and other paired portraits of Augustus and Livia can also be found at other eastern mints at Bithynia, Moesia, Thrace and Achaia.¹²⁰ In the cases of the coins of Smyrna and Magnesia ad Sipylum, Augustus and Livia were referred to as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ in the coin legends, which did not necessarily identify them as equal partners in power, but rather as joint players in the perpetuation of the ruling imperial regime.

The concept of Augustus and Livia as royal couple was echoed on coins of other parts of the Empire using the jugate portrait. The jugate portraits of Augustus and Livia on coins of Asia Minor already mentioned earlier, while aimed at the promotion of the imperial dynasty, also insinuate an air of royal power couple, as was seen in coins of past Hellenistic royal couples such as those of the Ptolemaic dynasty. King Rhoemetaces I (r. c. 11 BCE–12 CE) of Thrace issued types dominated by portraits of Thracian “royals” alongside those of Rome. Three separate coin issues depict Rhoemetaces and his wife Pythodoris jugate on the obverse with Augustus and Livia jugate on the reverse (Figure 3.8).



Figure 3.7 AE Dichalkous from Ephesus (Asia) with portraits of Augustus and Livia jugate on the obverse. Undated, reign of Augustus. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.



Figure 3.8 AE 29mm coin from Thrace issued by King Rhoemetalcès I with reverse portraits of Augustus and Livia jugate and Capricorn in right field. c. 11 BCE to 12 CE. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

These coins promoted Rhoemetalcès and Augustus as co-rulers, with their wives as familial counterparts. One from an uncertain mint of Bithynia issued during the reign of Augustus presents the jugate portraits of Augustus and Livia on the obverse while the reverse depicts a seated female figure, presumably Livia, holding a cornucopia on her lap.¹²¹ One particularly intriguing coin from Moesia, attributed to the reign of Augustus, depicts a male and female portrait jugate on the obverse, but the legend EYETHPIA (fruitfulness, abundance) does not directly identify the figures depicted by name, but alludes to the blessing that exists on account of their rule.¹²² Interestingly, the configuration of the obverse portraits in this example seems to have the female portrait superimposed onto the male one, which is unusual given that all other jugate portraits of Augustus and Livia show the emperor's portrait in the forefront. Although the rendering of the portraits seems rather rough-hewn, the portrait in behind looks to be laureate, which makes a strong case that it is of Augustus rather than Livia, since in nearly all jugate portraits of these two together the emperor almost always wears the laurel crown. The type echoes ones issued under Cleopatra Thea during the mid-2nd century BCE in which the Seleucid queen's portrait is jugate with her husband's situated behind hers.¹²³ However, it is difficult to establish whether this Livia with Augustus jugate type was directly influenced by these earlier, and especially rare, Hellenistic ones.

The succession plans of Augustus, into which Livia factored, figured prominently on the coins of several mints. In 17 BCE, Augustus adopted his grandsons by his daughter Julia, Gaius and Lucius, as his own sons, thereby marking them



Figure 3.9 Leaded bronze 20mm coin from Magnesia ad Sipylum (Asia) with portraits of Augustus and Livia jugate on the obverse and the facing portraits of Gaius and Lucius Caesar on the reverse. c. 2 BCE. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

as successors to the imperial throne. Despite the silver denarius issued at Rome that many assert depicts Julia with Gaius and Lucius, numismatic evidence from the provinces points to Livia's role as mother to Augustus's successors over their biological mother Julia, which places Livia directly in the position of female head, *materfamilias*, of the imperial household.¹²⁴ A bronze coin of Magnesia ad Sipylum (Figure 3.9) made clear the key players in the perpetuation of dynasty by depicting Augustus and Livia jugate on the obverse with the successors Gaius and Lucius on the reverse. The formula appears to be echoed on a coin issued at Alabanda, which depicts on the obverse the heads of Augustus and Livia facing each other and referred to as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ. The reverse depicts the jugate portraits of Gaius and Lucius on the left facing a portrait of their father Agrippa (or perhaps even Augustus) on the right.¹²⁵ Coin series of several mints also conveyed the dynastic discourse. Pergamum issued a coin depicting Livia and Julia on the obverse and reverse respectively (see Figure 3.14), which was accompanied by coins bearing the portraits of Augustus, as well as Gaius and Lucius.¹²⁶ The mints of Antioch ad Maeandrum, Methymna, Nysa and Tralles issued similar dynastic series, but without reference to Augustus's daughter Julia.¹²⁷ With the deaths of Gaius and Lucius Caesar the mints of Antioch ad Maeandrum and Smyrna promoted Tiberius as the new successor.¹²⁸ Similar dynastic imagery can be found in Macedonia where, under Augustus, the mint at Thessalonica communicated the emperor's dynastic intentions through types of Gaius and then Tiberius,¹²⁹ whilst granting Livia a separate coin issue with her obverse portrait thus marking her as the leading female in the dynastic formula.¹³⁰

Under Tiberius, dynastic succession continued to be a key theme on the coins of eastern mints, but an emphasis was now placed on the relationship between mother and son. Her position as *materfamilias* remained along with her role as the female perpetuator of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Again, mints in Asia carried the message most extensively due to longstanding Hellenistic traditions with eleven of the 16 Asian mints issuing coins presenting Livia and Tiberius as key figures in the imperial family. These coins either depicted the two of them on the same coin and/or by issuing portrait-bearing coins of each individual as part of a series.¹³¹ Similar mother-son coin configurations were issued at Syria, Macedonia, Africa and Spain,¹³² while Livia was also included in prominent familial coin series found at Egypt and Corinth discussed later. In many of these examples, Livia is referred to by name as Σεβαστή or Σεβαστή Ιουλίᾱ in the east or *Iulia Augusta* in the west. Jugate images of Livia and Tiberius as mother and son were issued at Aphrodisias, Tripolis and in the Judaeen Kingdom.¹³³ There are also two examples where the two are depicted facing each other, one from Pergamum (Figure 3.10) and one from Mastaura.¹³⁴ It is important to note that in nearly all of these joint portraits from eastern mints the familial couple are referred to as Σεβαστοί, once again marking Livia as an imperial family member whose status is on par with that of Tiberius, even though she has no authority as ruler. Her authority lies in her status as *materfamilias* of the ruling imperial family and her ideological status as mother of the subjects of empire. In the west, this message does not figure as prominently in coin legends with *Iulia*



Figure 3.10 Brass 20mm coin from Pergamum (Asia) with portraits of Tiberius and Livia facing on the obverse. c. 30 CE. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Augusta being the preferred title for Livia, notwithstanding a couple of rather extraordinary exceptions.

While the message of Livia's role as *materfamilias* of the imperial family continued to be conveyed throughout the Empire during the reign of Tiberius, nowhere is this message more palpably stated than on the extraordinary *Genetrix Orbis* dupondius of Colonia Romula (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.3) in Spain issued sometime during the reign of Tiberius. This coin is exceptional not only because of its legend, which refers to Livia as IVLIA AVGVSTA GENTRIX ORBIS, "Julia Augusta Mother (or Foundress) of the World", but also because of the attributes of the globe, crescent moon and laurel crown accompanying the portrait. Livia's appellation as *genetrix orbis* is echoed in the dupondius of Lepcis Magna (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.2) that refers to Livia as AVGVSTA MATER PATRIA(e).¹³⁵ We find a similar explicit appellation for her on a silver coin of Tarsus in Syria dated to the reign of Tiberius which refers to her as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΗΡΑΣ ΜΗΤΡ "of/belonging to Julia Augusta Hera Mother".¹³⁶ Even Cassius Dio recalls that Livia was considered "mother of her county" by some.¹³⁷

Livia was also portrayed on Tiberian coins as the mother of the emperor's intended successors, even though she was not their biological mother. Various mints throughout the Empire issued coins with portraits of key members of the Tiberian dynasty, including the emperor's nephew Germanicus and his own son Drusus the Younger. In many cases, coins with images of Livia were issued alongside those of the emperor and his successors. Some examples hail from Apamea, Pergamum, Sardis and Tripolis in Asia, Cyprus, Sinope in Pontus and Hippo Regius in Africa.¹³⁸ At times the familial series also included the deified Augustus as at Lepcis Magna in Africa and several mints in Spain including Italica, Colonia Romula and Tarraco.¹³⁹ An extraordinary coin of Tarraco stated explicitly Livia's status as mother of the imperial dynasty by placing her portrait facing that of her grandson Drusus the Younger along with her name IVL(ia) AVGVSTA, while the portrait of her son Tiberius on the obverse completed the visual dialogue.¹⁴⁰

The city of Corinth in Achaea which had been re-established as a Roman colony by Julius Caesar in 44 BCE, produced a substantial coinage with a dynastic theme. The coins issued under Augustus did not refer to Livia, but did promote Gaius and Lucius, and eventually Tiberius, as Augustus's successors. Under Tiberius, Livia's image did not appear on the coinage of Corinth until around 21–22 CE, about the same time as the *Salus* dupondius of Livia was issued in Rome. The first Tiberian familial types at Corinth, issued under the magistrates P. Caninius Agrippa and L. Castricius Regulus, commemorated Drusus the Younger or Tiberius on the obverse and Livia seated on the reverse.¹⁴¹ The seated Livia with veil holding patera/ears of grain and sceptre mimics the seated figure of Livia issued by the mint of Rome in the early years of Tiberius's reign. A second series likely issued after Livia's death under the magistrates L. Arrius Peregrinus

and L. Furius Labeo gives a more comprehensive overview of the imperial family with coins bearing the portraits of the deified Augustus, Tiberius, Livia and Tiberius's most recent designated successors Caligula and Tiberius Gemellus.¹⁴² A number of these coins also show on their reverses the hexastyle temple that may have been set up there under Augustus in honour of the deified Julius Caesar, but most certainly would have been utilized as a place of worship for the cult of the imperial family as indicated by the reverse legend GENT(i) IVLI(ae) on the architrave of the temple.¹⁴³ The presence of this coinage implies that the colony placed particular importance on the worship of the *Domus Augusta*. There is also some evidence of dynastic statuary groups at Corinth, although there are no surviving sculptures of Livia.¹⁴⁴

The dialogue of the coins regarding Livia's place in relation to the emperor and the imperial family was only completed by those that emphasized Livia and her relationship to the deified Augustus, an association that served to further reinforce the essential connection Tiberius had to the deified emperor through his mother Livia, which further legitimized his right to imperial rule. A coin of Pergamum (Figure 3.11) communicates this unequivocal relationship by depicting the heads of Augustus and Tiberius facing each other on the obverse, while Livia is depicted seated and holding a sceptre and ears of grain on the reverse and referred to in the legend as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝ. A remarkable silver didrachm of Byzantium depicted the portrait of the deified Augustus along with that of Livia on the reverse (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.9), a configuration also found on the *Genetrix Orbis* coin of Colonia Romula and a bronze coin of Mopsus in Syria, while coins at Sinope in



Figure 3.11 Brass 21mm coin from Pergamum (Asia) with portraits of Augustus and Tiberius facing on the obverse and with Livia seated holding sceptre and ears of grain on the reverse. Before 29 CE. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Pontus, Knossos in Crete and Italica in Spain presented the seated Livia on the reverse instead of her portrait.¹⁴⁵

At this point, mention must be made of the coins of the mint of Alexandria in Egypt, which referred to Livia on several types issued under Augustus and Tiberius. While the consistent presence of Livia's portrait on Alexandrian coins may have been part of a long numismatic tradition for representing royal women in Egypt, Livia was clearly held in high regard as a key member of the ruling imperial family. The dynastic theme plays a role on the coins issued under Augustus, which also included a portrait type of his grandson and heir, Gaius.¹⁴⁶ In a couple of Augustan examples, Livia's obverse portrait is accompanied by a legend referring to her by name ΛΙΟΥΙΑ ΚΕΒΑΚΤΟΥ.¹⁴⁷ Many of the reverses of the coins bearing Livia's portrait contain types familiar to the Alexandrian mint since Ptolemaic times, including the double cornucopia and the eagle. There were also new ones introduced that refer to the rule of Augustus, such as the oak wreath.¹⁴⁸ Under Tiberius, Alexandrian coins initially promoted the relationship between Tiberius and Livia up until 19 CE by means of separate issues for each. Coins after 20 CE focused primarily on Tiberius (obverse) along with deified Augustus (reverse) with Livia disappearing from the coins.¹⁴⁹

The dynastic agenda and Livia's place in it do not appear to have factored as prominently on the coins of Gaul, in particular Lugdunum, unless we consider the Pax/Ceres-Livia type to be a representation of her, a matter which I have discussed elsewhere.¹⁵⁰ The coins issued at Lugdunum promoted the imperial family under both Augustus and Tiberius. The coins of Augustus promoted his successors Gaius and Lucius followed by Tiberius, while the coins of Tiberius promoted the emperor alongside the deified Augustus.¹⁵¹ The presence of Livia seated with the attributes of Pax (branch) or Ceres (ears of grain) recalled her role as mother of the imperial family and a stabilizing presence in the imperial dynasty.¹⁵²

As has been demonstrated, the theme of the perpetuation of dynasty and Livia's role in it was prevalent on coins of Augustus, and perhaps even more so on those of Tiberius. While the coins carried the dynastic message through a combination of images and legends, the extent to which the message was received among viewers of the coins must be considered within the context of other media such as statues and inscriptions, the latter often derived from statues dedicated to Livia that no longer survive. We must first ask whether there is a numismatic familial group portrait phenomenon comparable to and/or related to the presence of imperial family group portrait statues in Roman provincial cities? Did cities with mints producing familial group coins also have statue groups?

Based on the evidence presented thus far, we know that the statues set up for Livia were often part of statue groups dedicated to various members of the imperial family. We see examples of such honours throughout the Empire with various cities demonstrating their support and gratitude towards the emperor

and his family by setting up statues and monuments that conveyed the ideology within which these cities viewed the imperial family and how they imagined that the imperial family desired to be viewed. The setting up of monuments and statues for the imperial family was initially more prominent in the East than the West, as was the case with such honours on coins. These monumental honours, in particular statues and statue groups have been thoroughly studied and documented by Bartman, Boschung and Rose.¹⁵³ In addition to the familial statue groups already mentioned, it is important to note these significant examples that incorporated Livia: several dynastic statue groups set up in honour of the imperial family at the city of Ephesus;¹⁵⁴ a dynastic statue group of the imperial family found at Baeterrae that included a portrait of Livia, along with ones of Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus the Younger;¹⁵⁵ an impressive one located at the Temple of Roma and Augustus at Lepcis Magna that also included statues of Augustus, Tiberius and Roma;¹⁵⁶ and another was found at Glanum in Gaul dating to the Augustan period which was accompanied by a portrait of Octavia.¹⁵⁷ That many of the imperial family members included in these groups were also commemorated on coins comes as no surprise given that the perpetuation of the imperial dynasty was a prerogative of the imperial ideology communicated through images and texts.

There are several examples where the familial group coins correspond with statue groups that were set up in a particular coin issuing city, although it is rare for the coins' subjects to match with those of the statues exactly. During the reign of Tiberius, Smyrna in Asia issued coins depicting Tiberius, but also Livia and the Senate (Figure 3.12) that seem to correspond roughly with an imperial family statue group that was also set up there. Both the coins and the statues relate to the completion of a temple dedicated to these three figures that was commissioned in 23 CE when Smyrna won a competition earning that city the privilege of constructing the temple.¹⁵⁸ The provincial cities of Lepcis Magna, Aphrodisias and Ephesus also issued coins and set up statuary portrait groups that included Livia.¹⁵⁹ While the number of cities issuing coins depicting Livia along with other imperial family members seems to far outweigh the number of statue groups set up, we should still take into consideration the very near certainty that other statue groups may have been set up in these minting cities but they simply have not survived or have not been discovered yet.

The impact of coin types referring to Livia and their significance in terms of their role within the ideological programme that permeated throughout the Empire can also be established through the correlations between texts on the coins and on inscriptions found in the provinces in which they were produced. Barrett, Bartman and Hahn have compiled comprehensive lists of inscriptions referring to Livia and have examined them extensively shedding light on connections made between Livia and various goddesses, as well as other dedications made to her.¹⁶⁰ Bartman's work has highlighted the fact that many of these inscriptions likely were originally statue bases, thus connecting many of these inscriptions to visual



Figure 3.12 Brass 12mm coin from Smyrna (Asia) with portraits of Livia and the personified Senate facing on the obverse. c. 29–35 CE. Photo credit: Jack Hase. Courtesy of the Museum of Antiquities, University of Saskatchewan.

media as well. Noreña's work on the correlation between the relative frequencies of virtue types on coins of the Roman emperor with the appearance of corresponding epithets in inscriptions, has established convincingly that not only did the images on coins transcend multiple media, but that the texts could as well.¹⁶¹ While the correlations between inscriptions and coin types referring to Livia may not have been as systematic nor as influenced by those published in official imperial coin types and inscriptions as was the case in Noreña's study, we do see an interesting mix of locally conceived honourific terms for Livia combined with imagery based on imperial models.

Numerous inscriptions throughout the Empire commemorated Livia as wife of Augustus and mother of Tiberius, and we find that these inscriptions emerged in the same provinces, and at times with language corresponding to that presented on coins. Livia was referred to as wife and mother primarily through the imagery on the coins and only infrequently through explicit coin legends as seen in the examples from Lepcis Magna, Colonia Romula and Tarsus, where she is directly referred to as mother. Working in tandem with the coins, inscriptions found in the provinces make clear Livia's status and place in the imperial family, further reinforcing that the coins were not anomalies, but were part of the coordinated efforts of the subjects of the Empire to communicate the importance of the ruling imperial family along with Livia's place in it. Such inscriptions were found in Italy, Greece, Macedonia, Asia, Cyprus, Crete, Egypt, Africa, Gaul and Spain. A summary and breakdown of these inscriptions along with references can be found in Appendix C. There is only one explicit example where a motherly title for Livia can be found on a coin along with a corresponding inscription from the same region, namely the Colonia Romula *Genetrix Orbis* coin and the inscription

from a statue base for Livia found at Anticaria, both from Baetica in Spain.¹⁶² Even more prolific though were the associations of Livia as divine, which finds analogous resonance on coins as on inscriptions.

Livia and the mother goddesses

Closely connected to the theme of the perpetuation of dynasty and Livia's place in it as communicated on coins of various cities of the eastern and western provinces is reference to Livia as divine (θεά) and her association with several key mother goddesses, namely Hera and Demeter and their Roman equivalents Juno and Ceres. Such associations were made rather explicitly on coins through the iconographic attributes of these goddesses attached directly to the images of Livia, as well as the divine appellations appearing on the legends of the coins. While Livia was not considered divine at Rome, not officially at least, until she was deified by the emperor Claudius in 42 CE, the coins of the provinces communicated her divine status even during the time of Augustus. In addition to being referred to as various goddesses, which will be discussed shortly, Livia was also given the epithet θεά (divine) on coins issued at several mints of the Greek east provinces of the Roman Empire, long before Livia was ever called *diva* (divine) in the West. Livia's designation as divine on eastern provincial coins issued during Augustus's reign contributed to the further definition and exploitation of Livia's perceived role as imperial *materfamilias*. Her association with key goddesses allowed the provincial viewer to get acquainted with Livia within the context of their own established religious traditions.¹⁶³ Both Barrett, Hahn and more recently Angelova, have emphasized the associations of Livia with various goddesses such as Hera/Juno and Demeter/Ceres in inscriptions and coins, which very much inform the work here, but more needs to be considered regarding to what extent coins and inscriptions bear the same honourific epithets for Livia and what authority, whether local or imperial, inspired them.

There are instances where Livia appears to have been labelled as divine in her own right, as ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ on coins issued during Augustus's reign. More will be discussed in Chapter 4 regarding the significance of Livia's appellation as θεά in relation to the emperor as θεός but for now a survey of the occurrence of these coins in the eastern provinces is needed to understand the extent of Livia's divine accolades in the provinces. This numismatic accolade may have first occurred as early as c. 20 BCE at Thessalonica in Macedonia, although there are examples that may be earlier at Clazomenae and Methymna in Asia that are dated broadly to the reign of Augustus.¹⁶⁴ Under Tiberius she was referred to as ΘΕΑ CEBACTH at Magnesia ad Sipylum, and as IOY(λ)α ΘΕΑ CEBACTH at Mytilene.¹⁶⁵ The latter legend was echoed at Amphipolis in Macedonia, while the former appears on a remarkable silver didrachm coin of Byzantium in Thrace which commemorated Livia as divine on the reverse alongside the deified Augustus on the obverse (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.9).¹⁶⁶ An iconographically similar, although nowhere near as stunning, bronze coin

was issued at Mopsus in Syria and bore similar divine appellations.¹⁶⁷ Even one of the coins of Augusta seems to show Livia wearing a circular diadem, an attribute referring to divine or high status, although a legend identifying her as divine is absent.¹⁶⁸ The Koinon of Crete commemorated the official deification of Livia on a coin issued under Claudius c. 41–43 CE, which refers to her as ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΑ (Figure 3.13). These coins used as model the Iustitia coin type issued at Rome during the 20s CE (Figure 3.4). The use of the Rome Iustitia type on these coins as a portrait of deified Livia indicates that the original Iustitia coin type was intended to stand as a representation of Livia. The legend of this Cretan “Iustitia” coin refers to Livia by name and acknowledges her divine status. The appearance of this type so long after the initial Roman mint issues of the 20s likely indicates the widespread circulation and longevity of this type even down to the 40s. Interestingly, this was the only instance after Tiberius and throughout the reigns of the remaining Julio-Claudian emperors that Livia is referred to as divine on the provincial coinage.

In addition to being referred to as ΘΕΑ on several coins in the Greek East, Livia was assimilated to, or at the very least associated with key mother goddesses, but most prolifically with Hera. In most cases where Livia is connected to such deities, her image is infused with the goddess’s signature attributes, such as ears of grain as in the case of Demeter or the stephane of Hera. During the reign of Augustus the legend of a coin issue from Pergamum referred to Livia as Hera, a sentiment echoed at Eumeneia, and by Thessalian League coins.¹⁶⁹ The coin from Eumeneia refers to Livia as ΗΡΑ Λ(Ε)ΙΒΙΑ while the



Figure 3.13 AE As issued by the Koinon of Crete with Livia wearing stephane on the reverse accompanied by the legend ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΑ. c. 41–43 CE.
© Trustees of the British Museum.

Thessalian coin similarly refers to her as HPA AEIOYIA. The Pergamum coin, which presents Livia's portrait along with the legend AIBIAN HPAN on the obverse has a corresponding portrait of Augustus's daughter Julia referred to as Aphrodite on the reverse, a rare coin indeed given that the two key female members of the imperial family are not commemorated on a coin like this anywhere else (Figure 3.14). A coin of Chalcis in Achaea, also dated to the time of Augustus, bears a portrait of Livia on the obverse and one of Hera on the reverse.¹⁷⁰ Although Livia is not referred to by name on this coin, the connection via the co-relating portraits is clear. A silver coin issued at Tarsus (Figure 3.15) under Tiberius, one of the few precious metal provincial issues depicting Livia, shows her veiled and seated and refers to her as Hera and mother in the legend (ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΗΡΑΣ ΜΗΤΡ), but also associates her with Demeter through the ears of grain and flowers she holds in her right hand. Also, a coin of Smyrna (Figure 3.12) depicting Livia's portrait facing that of the Senate has the empress wearing a *stephane*, a divine attribute. The presence of this crown type is one of the few instances where such a distinction was given to Livia on coins, and has connotations pertaining to both Hera/Juno and Aphrodite/Venus.¹⁷¹ In Egypt, Livia's connection to Hera was communicated through a coin that depicted her portrait on the obverse, along with a peacock on the reverse.¹⁷² Livia's prominence in Egypt is echoed in various sources both material and textual. Especially noteworthy is a surviving papyrus fragment recording the visit of a deputation of envoys from Alexandria to Rome that expresses the high regard in which the Alexandrians held Livia.¹⁷³ She was also cited there as a goddess, namely *Juno Pronuba*, who oversaw marriage contracts well into the mid-2nd century and her birthday was celebrated even into the reign of the emperor Claudius.¹⁷⁴

The association of Livia with Demeter was less so than with Hera in the Hellenistic Greek East, but the importance of Demeter and her Roman equivalent Ceres was well established in Augustan imperial ideology. As Spaeth argues, there was an explicit association between Ceres and the emperor and his family in the Augustan period.¹⁷⁵ Livia was associated with the goddess Ceres already during the reign of Augustus, and thus became the living symbol of the qualities of prosperity and fertility that defined this goddess and, in turn, the imperial regime. Livia's association with Demeter/Ceres in coins, sculpture and cameos would continue through to her deification under Claudius. Livia, and other female imperial family members that followed her, served as a direct ideological link between the emperor and this important goddess.¹⁷⁶ An exceptional coin from Thessalonica makes the connection between Livia and the goddess by means of the legend and iconography specific to Demeter herself. Here the coin's reverse shows the goddess Demeter in her chariot and carrying torches as she searches for her kidnapped daughter Persephone, while the accompanying legend refers instead to Livia as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ.¹⁷⁷ On the coins of Alexandria in Egypt, Livia's association with Demeter was made by issuing



Figure 3.14 Leaded bronze 18mm coin of Pergamum (Asia) with a portrait of Livia as Hera on the obverse and of Julia as Aphrodite on the reverse. c. 10 BCE to before 2 BCE. © Trustees of the British Museum.

coins with Livia's portrait and often her name on the obverse, along with the goddess's attributes on the reverse such as cornucopiae, a modius between two torches, or with ears of grain and poppies.¹⁷⁸ She is also equated on these coins with *Euthenia*, the Greek equivalent of the Roman *Abundantia*.¹⁷⁹ Similarly on a series of coins issued in Jerusalem Livia is mentioned by name, and although no portraits of her appear on these coins, several of the images that are presented alongside her name include a wreath, lilies and ears of grain, all of which were associated with Demeter.¹⁸⁰

The body of epigraphic evidence corresponding with the association of Livia with the divine and with key mother goddesses is substantial, and served to further reinforce Livia's status as a divine personage, or at the very least as someone with very significant divine connections. An overview of these inscriptions with references can be found in Appendix C. Several cities of Asia provide epigraphic evidence of dedications to Livia as divine (θεά) during the reign of Augustus, including Cyzicus and Attouda. The accolade continued under Tiberius in cities like Thyateira, Antiocheia, Aphrodisias and Myra. Such inscriptions were also found in Cyprus, as well as in Corinth, Messenia and Athens in Achaea. And the assimilations with key goddesses were just as abundant on inscriptions as on coins, perhaps even more so. Inscriptions for Livia as Hera/Juno were found in Thessaly, Dalmatia and several cities in Asia including Assos, Mytilene and Aphrodisias. She is referred to as Demeter/Ceres on inscriptions found at Cyzicus, Aphrodisias and Ephesus in Asia, Nepet in Africa and Gaulos (Malta).¹⁸¹ Livia was celebrated as the "new Hera" at Assos and Pergamum, the "new Isis" in Egypt, the "new Aphrodite" in Cyprus and as the "new Hestia Demeter" at



Figure 3.15 AR Tetradrachm from Tarsus (Syria) with Livia seated as Hera on the reverse. Undated, reign of Tiberius. Courtesy of the Classical Numismatic Group.

Lampsacus.¹⁸² The latter honour of being referred to as a new incarnation of an old deity was frequently bestowed upon members of the Julio-Claudian family, and often coincided with evidence of worship, such as dedications and priest-hoods.¹⁸³ Several other associations with Livia and divine personifications such as Pronoia and Hygieia can be found (see Appendix C). An intriguing association between Livia and Hygieia was made in an inscription on a marble base found east of the Propylaia in Athens that refers to Livia as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΥΓΕΙΑ “to Augusta Hygieia”,¹⁸⁴ thereby echoing not only an inscription at Imbros in Asia that makes explicit the assimilation in declaring Livia as ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝ ΥΓΕΙΑΝ “Julia Augusta Hygieia”, but also the dupondius of Rome from 22–23 CE that clearly links Livia to Salus, the Roman equivalent of Hygieia.¹⁸⁵ Many of these inscriptions are dedications by both local magistrates and private individuals, but what can be taken from the presence of both the coins and the inscriptions is the prevalence of imperial cult including Livia’s worship within it.

Coins, along with inscriptions and other evidence such as sculpture, attest to the prominence of the worship of the imperial family amongst local cults throughout the Greek East including Asia, Macedonia and Achaia. Kremydi-Sicilianou has argued that the coins in Macedonia under Augustus and Tiberius bear direct evidence for the worship of these emperors along with Livia, who factors quite prominently on the coins of this province.¹⁸⁶ Livia was referred to as divine on the coins of Thessalonica under Augustus, which was echoed on the coins of Amphipolis under Tiberius. There is epigraphic evidence that Augustus was

worshipped in Macedonia during his lifetime.¹⁸⁷ Therefore, given Livia's accolade as ΘΕΑ on the coins, it seems highly plausible that Livia was a part of this imperial worship as well. Further evidence for the worship of Livia alongside Augustus can be found in Achaea, with statues of Augustus and Livia present at Eleusis,¹⁸⁸ as well as at Athens in Attica where Livia is referred to as Θέα on a statue base inscription from the Roman agora there.¹⁸⁹ A religious festival and games in honour of the imperial family including Livia were established during Tiberius's reign at Gytheum on the Peloponnese, while other religious rights were observed at Tanagra, Athens and Rhamnous.¹⁹⁰ The city of Chalcis held a festival in honour of Livia called the Leibidea.¹⁹¹

Such imperial cult worship was present at various locations throughout Asia where references to Livia as divine are the most pronounced. There were a number of temples erected for the worship of Augustus or Augustus and Roma, including at Mytilene, Assos, Cyzicus, Pergamum, Ephesus, Sardis, Tralles, Alabanda, Aphrodisias and Smyrna where coins and/or inscriptions dedicated to Livia have also originated from.¹⁹² Furthermore, there is clear evidence even from the time of Augustus that Livia was purposefully included in this imperial worship. For example, Augustus supported Hellenistic traditions which acknowledged the status and rule of royal female family members of kingdoms such as at Bosporan (Pontus), namely queens Dynamis and Pythodoris, and in return these ruling women demonstrated their gratitude to Augustus and his family by erecting statues of them that included Livia.¹⁹³ Pythodoris even had the names of two cities changed to Sebaste and Liviopolis, clearly in honour of Livia.¹⁹⁴ At Eresus on Lesbos there was a temple to Augustus, Livia, Gaius and Lucius, the Heraion at Samos included the worship of Augustus and Livia, and Ephesus had a sanctuary to τηρει σεβαστοι in close proximity to the Temple of Artemis, as well as a royal portico with statues of Augustus and Livia.¹⁹⁵ Such worship and recognition of Livia in Asia Minor culminated in the construction of a temple at Smyrna to Tiberius, Livia, and the Senate, which was also commemorated on that city's coinage (Figure 3.12).¹⁹⁶

The numismatic, sculptural and epigraphic evidence from the Hellenistic Greek east affirms that Livia was considered divine and equated to a variety of goddesses long before she was officially deified at Rome under the emperor Claudius in 42 CE. Livia was not only considered divine, but also as a benefactress and thus a model of ideal womanhood,¹⁹⁷ a theme that was apparent already under Augustus, but becomes much more prevalent under Tiberius when this ideology, made manifest through Livia's divine associations, found its way to parts of the western Empire.

As can be found on coins of several mints in the western provinces, Livia was also associated with key deities, in particular Ceres and Juno, who were known primarily for their roles as mother goddesses, which corresponded with Livia's role as mother of the imperial family. Livia's affiliation with Ceres and Juno was particularly prolific in Africa. The ears of grain, attribute of Ceres, can be found

on several seated figure types with the coins of the seated Livia from Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna and Thapsus switching Livia's patera for ears of grain, thus likening her to the goddess Ceres.¹⁹⁸ A sestertius from Thapsus (Figure 3.16) made



Figure 3.16 AE Sestertius from Thapsus (Africa) with Livia as Ceres seated before a modius and holding ears of grain in her hand. c. 16–21 CE. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.



Figure 3.17 AE Dupondius from Oea (Africa) with obverse portrait of Livia with ear of grain in left field and peacock in right field. After 22–23 CE. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

the connection even more explicit by adding the *modius* (grain measure) and the legend CERERI AVGVSTAE. The ears of grain also appear behind Livia's portrait as seen on a dupondius issued at Oea (Figure 3.17). The same coin of Oea contained the peacock, an attribute of Juno. Thapsus also issued a coin portrait of Livia and one with Livia seated each with the legend referring to her as Juno, THAPSVM IVN AVG.¹⁹⁹

In Spain, Livia was not overtly assimilated to any particular goddess nor was she called divine. One possible allusion to Ceres appears in the reverse of a coin from Emerita (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.1), which depicts Livia seated on the reverse holding what appears to be a torch rather than a sceptre and ears of grain along with the legend referring to her by name. The *Genetrix Orbis* coin from Colonia Romula (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.3) certainly has connotations of the divine with the presence of the globe at the base of the neck and the crescent moon atop her head, thereby connecting her with Luna (or Diana). On the obverse, Augustus has a clear connection with Sol/Apollo, not only on account of the radiate crown that he wears, but also the star that appears atop his forehead. Several scholars have noted the complexity of the divine undertones wrapped up in this single coin type including the associations with Venus Genetrix, the ancestral goddess of the *gens Iulia* to which Livia now belonged, which is implied in the title *genetrix*.²⁰⁰ The cult of Venus Genetrix was of particular importance to the perpetuation of the imperial dynasty, very much in the tradition established by Julius Caesar.²⁰¹ Also, the presence of the globe implies a connection with Cybele and Magna Mater, while the lunar crescent also inferred an association with Dea Caelestis, a goddess closely related to the stars, the sun and the moon.²⁰²

Livia's association with these goddesses was significantly less prominent on the coins issued in Gaul. If we consider the seated female figure on the aurei and denarii of Lugdunum to be Livia, the object the figure is holding in her left hand may be perceived as ears of grain, thus making a connection to Ceres.²⁰³ The coin from Gallia Comata is perhaps more obvious bearing a readily identifiable portrait of Livia surrounded by pods of grain.²⁰⁴ There is likely a dual association here given that the portrait is also wearing a veil and stephane, attributes of the goddess Juno. Given the presence of the deified Augustus on the obverse of this coin, who is often identified with Jupiter, that this reverse portrait could be Livia is almost certain.

Epigraphic dedications to Livia as divine figure can also be found in the western provinces, although not to the extent that they were in the East. References to Livia as Juno and Ceres can be found in Africa, but only examples post-Livia's deification survive from Gaul where she is simply referred to as *diva* (see Appendix C). However, there is the exceptional example from Anticaria in Spain that refers to Livia as *Genetrix Orbis*, an honourific appellation also found on the Colonia Romula coin.²⁰⁵ The apparent lack of numismatic and epigraphic evidence regarding Livia as divine in the West as compared to the East should not be considered a sign that Livia's status was less in these provinces, but rather may be attributed

to a more conservative stance being taken where no such long standing tradition of hailing living figures as divine existed. The extraordinary distinction of the title *Genetrix Orbis* in and of itself is indicative of the prominent regard in which Livia was held throughout the Empire during Tiberius's reign.

The high regard in which the Spanish provinces held Livia can be seen most vividly throughout the region, with the province of Baetica producing significant evidence of imperial cult with Livia clearly represented. Not only did the cities of Colonia Romula and Anticaria regard her as *Genetrix Orbis*, but in 25 CE the province sent a deputation to Rome seeking permission to build a temple there to Tiberius and Livia, citing the precedent which had already been set by Smyrna in Asia. But, Tiberius denied the request stating that too many such honours would appear excessive.²⁰⁶ Nonetheless, efforts to honour Livia were also made through sculptural dedications including one from a statue group at Asido (near Gades),²⁰⁷ which also included portraits of Germanicus and Drusus the Younger. Corduba, also in Baetica, appears to have observed imperial cult as well, where statues of Claudian date were found that appear to show Augustus as Jupiter and Livia as Ceres or Juno, both enthroned.²⁰⁸ A further public plaza in the city possibly contained an imperial family statue group with portraits of Tiberius and Livia, along with ones of Caligula and Claudius, having been found there.²⁰⁹ A noteworthy statue of Livia from Iponuba of late Augustan or Tiberian date depicts the empress seated (lower half missing) and holding a cornucopia, which makes plausible the identification of the seated female figure holding cornucopia found on the coin of Irippa as Livia.²¹⁰ Both Iponuba and Irippa were located in Baetica. Evidence for imperial cult honours for Livia can be found in other Spanish provinces as well. According to Fishwick, the Spanish city of Emerita in Lusitania established the earliest provincial cult in the western provinces with one devoted to the deified Augustus to start and with Livia added upon her deification,²¹¹ but there is epigraphic evidence that Livia may have had a priest there between 14 and 29 CE,²¹² which perhaps further explains the commemoration of Livia on that city's coins. Imperial cult practices also were observed at Tarraco and Ampurias, where evidence of cult statues of Livia have been found.²¹³

The presence of imperial cult and Livia's associated worship was echoed in Africa as well where, as we have seen on the coins, she was associated with the goddesses Juno and Ceres, especially on those of Oea and Thapsus. As the epigraphic and sculptural evidence attests, Livia was associated with Ceres at Lepcis Magna, and was part of a significant imperial cult dedicated to Augustus and Roma and other members of the imperial family.²¹⁴ A statue of Livia as Ceres was set up there in a temple to Ceres Augusta and was dedicated around 35 CE, a few years after her death but before her official deification, complete with a dedicatory inscription naming those who set up the statue, proconsul C. Rubellius Blandus and the priestess of the cult Suphunibal.²¹⁵ Inscriptions in Gaul also attest to pockets of imperial cult there, but the worship of Livia likely took place only upon her deification.²¹⁶ Sculptural honours were also granted to Livia at Gaulus Insula

(Malta) where a statue and corresponding inscription were set up honouring Livia as wife of the deified Augustus and mother of Tiberius.²¹⁷ The inscription refers to Livia as Ceres Iulia Augusta thereby associating Livia directly to the goddess, a reference also made on the coins of Thapsus in Africa.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have discussed how mints from various parts of the Empire featured Livia using coin types from all three of her numismatic representational modes: portrait, seated Livia and standing Livia. What occurs consistently is that the various provincial mints of the Empire did endeavour to maintain specific visual norms with regard to Livia's image, some of which were transmitted from the imperial regime in Rome itself. Nowhere is this desire to maintain a particular standard of visual representation more apparent than at mints such as Magnesia ad Sipylum, Corinth, Thessalonica and various African and Spanish mints who clearly repeated the images pertaining to Livia from the dupondii series of Rome from 22–23 CE, which featured Salus, Iustitia and Pietas types, as well as the seated Livia types from early in Tiberius's reign. In the case of Corinth, this adherence was likely on account of the fact that this city was a Roman colony governed by Roman magistrates; the coins themselves were signed by the mint officials, *duoviri*, who issued them.²¹⁸ Thessalonica on the other hand was a civic mint with its own local governing authorities who perhaps issued these coins in an attempt to flatter and/or show loyalty to their Roman rulers. This necessity to maintain a specific iconographic and stylistic standard was especially manifest at the imperial run mint of Alexandria, where Livia's portraits consistently sport the Fayum hairstyle popularized in the Augustan period and carried on under Tiberius. Whether the mint of Rome wished for Livia's numismatic images to make an impression or not, the numismatic representations of Livia found in the provinces indicate clearly that Livia did make a significant impression on the subjects of empire, who regarded Livia as a key member of the imperial family from whom they could find favour.

The many distinguished references to Livia on coins, sculpture and inscriptions of the provinces beg the question as to why Livia seems to have been held in such high regard. In her capacity as patroness, Livia may have been perceived as a mother of the people of the Empire on account of her many kindnesses.²¹⁹ In recognition of her patronage, a number of these cities worshipped her as θεά ευεργέτις (divine benefactress).²²⁰ As a result of her many benefactions she was seen as the sympathetic mother and kind-hearted wife, which became an imperial institution.²²¹ Provincial coins paying tribute to Livia as divine and marking her association with goddesses such as Hera/Juno and Demeter/Ceres acknowledged and sanctioned her very public and motherly role in the Empire. These distinguished, gender-infused roles, which were promoted in a systematic way via coins throughout the Empire, were symptomatic of a very marked shift in status, power and influence for female members of the imperial family. The coins discussed thus far presented Livia in the gender-infused roles of wife, mother and even

goddess, which placed her on a level of power and influence never before seen for a Roman woman. How the coins can be used as a gauge for understanding the complexities of Livia's position as empress in terms of the gender-based power imagery employed in her coin images will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Notes

- 1 Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, 75; Cheung, "The Political Significance of Roman Imperial Coin Types", 53.
- 2 Morelli, "Ancora sull'iconografia di Livia: le emissioni provinciali", 434.
- 3 Horster, "Coinage and images of the imperial family: local identity and Roman rule", 255.
- 4 Tac. *Ann.* 3.34.6. Note as well that Tacitus condemns Livia's involvement in provincial affairs which contrasts with the testament to her popularity which can be perceived from coins and sculpture. Despite Tacitus's opposition, it must have been acceptable to the emperor (whether Augustus or Tiberius) to a degree, otherwise he would have curbed such honours. See also Wood, *Imperial Women*, 79–80.
- 5 *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (ILS)* 8897. See also Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 200, no.9; Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 172–173, no. 112.
- 6 *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanes Pertinentes (IGR)* 4.39.
- 7 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 198. Barrett also refers to inscriptions set up at Samos in recognition of Livia's dedication of statues to the goddess Hera. See also Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 73, n. 15 and Dio 54.9.7.
- 8 *Roman Provincial Coinage (RPC)* 1, 4959, 4961, 4963–4967. While Livia's portrait does not appear on these coins, her name appears alongside symbols that may have some significance regarding her status as mother and her associations with key goddesses such as Ceres/Demeter. These symbols include a laurel branch, lilies, vine branch, palm branch and ears of grain.
- 9 Joseph. *BJ* 5.562–563; Barrett, 205.
- 10 Joseph. *AJ* 20.159 and Joseph. *BJ* 2.252, 4.438 indicates that the city was renamed "Julias", while Plin. *HN* 13.9.44 refers to it as "Livias". See also Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 207 and Strickert, "The Renaming of Bethsaida", 95.
- 11 Morelli, "Ancora sull'iconografia di Livia: le emissioni provinciali", 435; Burnett, "The Augustan Revolution Seen from the Mints of the Provinces", 11, who refers to the images and texts on provincial coins as "...responses by the cities to what was going on in the Empire".
- 12 Levick, "Messages on the Roman Coinage: Types and Inscriptions", 47; Noreña, "Coins and Communication", 251; Burnett, "The Authority to Coin in the Late Republic and Early Empire", 58–59.
- 13 Horster, "Coinage and images of the imperial family", 255–256.
- 14 Burnett, "The Augustan Revolution Seen from the Mints of the Provinces". 3; Horster, "Coinage and images of the imperial family", 247.
- 15 Burnett, "The Augustan Revolution Seen from the Mints of the Provinces", 20–21.
- 16 *Roman Imperial Coinage (RIC)* I², 404, 405 depicts on its reverse the head of a woman in right facing profile in centre flanked on each side by a head of a male. These figures have consistently been interpreted by scholars as Julia, daughter of Augustus, along with her sons Gaius and Lucius, who were adopted by Augustus as his own sons in 17 BCE. However, this could easily be Livia given that she was technically the female head of the imperial family.
- 17 Titus produced restoration issues of the Livia as Salus coin from 22–23 CE, see *RIC* II².1, 409 and 430. There were also restoration issues of Titus that recalled the Iustitia

- and Pietas types sometimes interpreted as Livia. For these restoration issues of Titus see *RIC* II².1, 405 – 408, 424 – 429. For restoration issues of Trajan see *RIC* II, 821. A “restoration” issue entailed reviving an earlier coin type and reissuing it on the coins of the reigning emperor. The most obvious instances are identified by an inscription on the reverse giving the current emperor’s name as subject of the verb *RESTITUIT*. However, the key to defining what constitutes a “restored” type rests less with the legend *RESTITUIT* than with the coin types themselves, which were virtual copies of a type issued in the past. See Grant, *Roman Imperial Money*, 197 and Mattingly, *British Museum Coins of the Roman Empire*, vol. 2, lxxxvii.
- 18 For aurei and denarii see *RIC* III, 143 – 144, 272 a and b, 289 a-c, 290 a-c, 305 a-c, as well as a number of bronze denominations, 755, 787, 795 a-b, 829, 870, 873, 973, 978, 988, 998, 1017, 1021 a-b, 1024–1025. See also Elkins, *Monuments in Miniature: Architecture on Roman Coinage*, 93 and 107.
 - 19 Noreña, “Coins and Communication”, 257.
 - 20 Rowan, *Under Divine Auspices: Divine Ideology and the Visualisation of Imperial Power in the Severan Period*, 25, outlines the limitations of die analyses including the large volume of Roman coins which can make die analysis impractical. We also can’t determine accurately how many coins each die created. See also Elkins, “Coins, contexts, and an iconographic approach for the 21st century”, 32–34. An example of an ideal die study scenario is Beckmann’s studies on the gold aurei of Faustina the Younger where there exists a sufficiently small number of dies and relatively large number of surviving specimens. See Beckmann, “The Relationship Between Numismatic Portraits and Marble Busts”, 41 and Beckmann, *Diva Faustina: Coinage and Cult in Rome and the Provinces*, 6–9.
 - 21 Noreña, *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West: Representation, Circulation, Power*, 31 and 146–168; Krmnicek and Elkins, “Dinosaurs, Cocks, and Coins: An Introduction to ‘Art in the Round’”, 14.
 - 22 Rowan, *Under Divine Auspices*, 24ff.
 - 23 Several scholars who have examined various hoards agree that local bronze coinages were intended for strictly regional circulation and often did not travel outside of their regions of issue. See Kemmers, “Sender or Receiver? Contexts of coin supply and coin use”, 138; Heuchert, “The Chronological Development of Roman Provincial Coin Iconography”, 33, n. 43; Kremydi-Sicilianou, *Multiple Concealments from the Sanctuary of Zeus Olympios at Dion: Three Roman Provincial Coin Hoards*, 43–45.
 - 24 Sincere thanks extended here to Dr. Philippa Walton, Research Fellow of the *Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire* project, University of Oxford, who I consulted regarding the state of preservation and representation of Livia coins in extant coin hoards.
 - 25 Michaelidou-Nicolaou, “Four Ptolemaic/Roman Hoards from Cyprus”, 21–22. A comparison between the coins published here and those referred to in *RPC* I 3919 shows clearly that these coins were issued locally at Cyprus.
 - 26 Smith and Jeffreys, “The Anubieion, North Saqqara: Preliminary Report, 1979–80”, 22. Note that the authors do not identify exactly which coins of Livia they found, but they state that this and other hoards at the site were ‘circulation’ hoards and thus consist largely of local/regional issues.
 - 27 These coins have been found as far afield as India in the Akkenpalle (Nalgonda) Hoard discovered in 1959. See Gupta, *Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh*, 63ff. An examination of the *Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire* online database reveals that at least 281 hoards have been documented thus far that contain coins of Tiberius and with a wide range of deposit dates from the time of the Julio-Claudians to the late empire. Several of these hoards contain aurei and denarii of Tiberius, but sometimes the database does not identify the mint, nor the types the coins bear. However, the hoards Provincia de Pontevedra (Spain), Montereau-Faut-Yonne (France), Xanten (Germany) and Zrkovci (Slovenia) have Tiberian aurei and

- denarii from the mint of Lugdunum, which likely bear the type of the seated Livia as Pax/Ceres. University of Oxford, *Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire*, accessed August 10, 2018, chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/. Also, a survey of the *Portable Antiquities Scheme* database shows that these coins have been found throughout the UK as well. British Museum and National Museum Wales, *Portable Antiquities Scheme*, accessed August 10, 2018, <https://finds.org.uk/>.
- 28 Elkins, “Coins, contexts, and an iconographic approach for the 21st century”, 34.
 - 29 Rowan, *Under Divine Auspices*, 28.
 - 30 Horster, “Coinage and images of the imperial family”, 243–245; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 90.
 - 31 Hekster, *Emperors and Ancestors*, 120, who mentions 45 mints that commemorated Livia and only 36 for deified Augustus.
 - 32 Mints in which such sporadic coin issuing practices may have been the case include Alabanda (Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 462ff), Antioch ad Maeandrum (Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 465ff), Clazomenae (Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 421ff), Ephesus (Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 431f), Mastaura (Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 443ff), Methymna (Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 395ff), Mysomakedones (Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 431), Mytilene (Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 396f), Nysa (Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 442ff), Poemanenum (Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 384), Tralles (Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 438ff).
 - 33 Plin. *HN* 5.22.93; Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 204. See also Burnett et al, *RPC I*, 591.
 - 34 *RPC I*, 4949; Strickert, “The Renaming of Bethsaida in Honor of Livia, a.k.a. Julia, the daughter of Caesar, in Joseph., *Jewish Antiquities* 18.27–28”, 95. Note that there is some confusion between this renamed city and the also renamed city of Betharamphtha. See also Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 207. It is possible that there was more than one city renamed Julias/Livias. Joseph. *BJ* 2.168 seems to imply that there were two cities named for Livia.
 - 35 *RPC I*, 2807–2809, 2816 (Alabanda), 2496 (Clazomenae), 2580 (Ephesus) and 2450 (Magnesia ad Sipylum).
 - 36 *RPC I*, 1346 and 1348 (Chalcis) and 1427 (Thessalian League).
 - 37 *RPC I*, 1563 (Thessalonica) and 5042–5043, 5046–5047 (Alexandria).
 - 38 *RPC I*, 4006–4014 (Augusta), 4016 (Mallus), 4049 (Mopsus). An examination of the catalogue reveals that more coins of Livia were issued at Syrian mints under Tiberius than under Augustus.
 - 39 Wood, *Imperial Women: A Study in Public Images, 40 BC–AD 68*, 95–96, fig. 28–29.
 - 40 *RPC I*, 1525.
 - 41 Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, 113.
 - 42 *RPC I*, 2840 (Aphrodisias-Plarasa), 2865 (Apollonia Salbace), 2452–2453 (Magnesia ad Sipylum), 2345 (Mytilene) and 2369 (Pergamum).
 - 43 *RPC I*, 2449, 2450, 2452 and 2453.
 - 44 *RPC I*, 1567 (Thessalonica), 1153, 1154, 1157–1159 (Corinth) and 1779 (Byzantium).
 - 45 Burnett, “The Augustan Revolution Seen from the Mints of the Provinces”, 11–12 mentions that there was a conscious effort in the provinces to imitate models from the mint of Rome, but that there were also local inspirations for the choices of types as well. Burnett describes what we find on provincial coins “...as responses by cities to what was going on in the Empire”. Further, he states that the possibility of Rome directly intervening in the provincial mints and their selection of types was rare.
 - 46 *RPC I*, 1567, 1568, 1570, 1571 (Thessalonica) and 1634 (Amphipolis).
 - 47 *RPC I*, 1542 and 1543.
 - 48 *RPC I*, 1153–1159 and 1161 (Corinth), 1427, 1434 and 1438 (Thessalian League).
 - 49 See coins of Magnesia ad Sipylum, *RPC I*, 2449 and 2450 and Smyrna, 2464 and 2466.
 - 50 Kremydi-Sicilianou, “‘Belonging’ to Rome, ‘Remaining’ Greek: Coinage and Identity in Roman Macedonia”, 99 presents an argument which implies that colonial issues of

- Livia from Macedonia do not mention Livia by name, nor do they refer to her or the emperor as divine, because Rome was not doing so. If it was not acceptable to Rome for Livia to be thus acknowledged, it did not appear on the coins of other Roman colonies.
- 51 *RPC I*, 2097.
 - 52 Burnett et al., *RPC I*, 353. See also Morelli, “Ancora sull’iconografia di Livia: le emissioni provinciali”, 437, who concedes that the appearance of this type is rather unusual.
 - 53 *RPC I*, 1149–1150 (Corinth), 1431 (Thessalian League).
 - 54 *RPC I*, 1506 (Dium), 1569 (Thessalonica).
 - 55 *RPC I*, 2697 (Magesia ad Maeandrum), 2568 (Mysomakedones), 2368 (Pergamum), 2252 (Poemanenum) and 2991 (Sardis).
 - 56 *RPC I*, 2126 (Sinope), 2097 (Uncertain mint Bithynia-Pontus), 3919–3920 (Cyprus), 986 (Cnossus) and 4005 (Tarsus).
 - 57 *RPC I*, 2576, 2580–2583, 2595 and 2840, 2842. For sculptural examples see Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 171–172, nos. 58–611.
 - 58 *RPC I*, 645.
 - 59 *RPC I*, 754–755 (Carthage-Colonia Iulia Concordia Karthago), 763, 766, 769 (Carthage-Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna), 711 (Hippo Regius), 849–850 (Lepcis Magna), 795 and 797 (Thapsus), 721–726, 731–733 (Utica).
 - 60 *RPC I*, 341.
 - 61 *RPC I*, 344, 346.
 - 62 *RIC I*², 48 – 49.
 - 63 *RPC I*, 66–67 (Italica), 39 (Emerita).
 - 64 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 88–89. See also Marsura, “L’Augusta come modello culturale nella monetazione di Lugdunum”, 214–216.
 - 65 Pollini, “Man or God: Divine Assimilation and Imitation in the Late Republic and Early Principate”, 350.
 - 66 Examples include coins from the colonies at Carthage *RPC I*, 754–755, 763, 766 and 769 and Utica *RPC I*, 721–726 and 731–733.
 - 67 *RPC I*, 711 (Hippo Regius), 795 and 797 (Thapsus), 849–850 (Lepcis Magna).
 - 68 *RPC I*, 833 and 835.
 - 69 *RPC I*, 38. The PERM(issu) AVGVSTI legend indicates that the coin was issued “by the permission of Augustus”. It is generally understood that all cities of the empire issued coins only with the permission of the imperial authority, but that only some coloniae and municipia referred to this granting of permission directly on their coins. However, given the long-standing minting traditions of the East, for these cities such direct permissions were not needed on the coins, but it was implied that coinage was issued under the authority of the emperor. See Weiss, “The Cities and their Money”, 58–59. Burnett, et al., *RPC I*, 69 mentions that in the case of these Emerita coins issued under Tiberius, the “permission” legends are a continuation of the practice used for such coins issued during the time of Augustus. See also Burnett, “The Augustan Revolution Seen from the Mints of the Provinces”, 8, who states the degree of imperial control was in fact rather limited.
 - 70 *RPC I*, 39. See also Hekster, *Emperors and Ancestors: Roman Rulers and the Constraints of Tradition*, 120.
 - 71 *RPC I*, 362–363.
 - 72 *RPC I*, 796.
 - 73 *RPC I*, 538.
 - 74 *RPC I*, 642 and *RPC I-III Supp.*, 642.
 - 75 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 175–176, nos. 65–68 and 178–180, nos. 71–74.
 - 76 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 175–176, nos. 65–66.
 - 77 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 179, nos. 72–73; Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*, 182–185, nos. 125–126;

- Boschung, *Gens Augusta: Untersuchungen zu Aufstellung, Wirkung und Bedeutung der Statuengruppen des julisch-claudischen Kaiserhauses*, 8–9, nos. 1.4, 1.13.
- 78 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 165–168, nos. 44–46, 48 and 50–51.
- 79 *RPC I*, 52 and 55.
- 80 Scheer, “Bilder der Macht? Repräsentationen römischer Kaiserinnen”, 296 states that in visual media the depiction of living women in the imperial period keeps neither numerical nor iconographical pace with those of living men.
- 81 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 91–93; Tac. *Ann.* 3.64 and 3.71.
- 82 A *carpentum* was a Roman carriage normally reserved for transporting religious officials and sacred objects. Liv. 1.34, 1.48.5–6, 5.25.9 gives several examples in which Roman matrons were transported in carriages, including during festival processions. The use of the *carpentum* was a mark of considerable distinction, even extravagance, and at times being subject to regulation during the Republic.
- 83 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 95; Brännstedt, “Livia on the Move”, 42; Kroppenber, “Law, Religion, and the Constitution of the Vestal Virgins”, 420. See also Tac. *Ann.* 12.42.2 and Dio 60.22.2, which indicates that empresses such as Agrippina and Messalina also received this privilege. Given the issue of the sesterius with *carpentum* for Livia, she was likely the first Roman empress to receive this honour.
- 84 Suet. *Galb.* 4.1.
- 85 *RIC I*².1, 409 (Titus); *RIC II*, 821 (Trajan).
- 86 *Supra*, note 9.
- 87 Burnett, *Coins*, 14.
- 88 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 63–65; Fullerton, “The *Domus Augusti* in Imperial Iconography of 13–12 BC”, 475–476; Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy 31 BC–AD 68*, 58.
- 89 *RIC I*², 397 (Augustus and Agrippa) and 403 (Diana). Note that there were other coins issued by this moneyer whose types bear subjects unrelated to the theme of family and dynasty, but relate to Augustus’s priestly and religious duties. The coins of this year seem to refer to recent events, such as the renewal of Augustus’s and Agrippa’s tribunician power for five years and Augustus’s adoption of his grandsons Gaius and Lucius as his heirs and successors. Nonetheless, the subject of family dynastic relations would not be entirely lost upon the viewer. As for the interpretation of the Diana denarius as Livia, see Angelova, *Sacred Founders: Women, Men and Gods in the Discourse of Imperial Founding, Rome through Early Byzantium*, 99–100. I hesitate to agree with Angelova’s identification somewhat due to the distinctive hairstyle of the figure, which was not found in any of Livia’s portraits, as well as the beaded diadem or fillet (or braid) marking the divinity of the figure. If the figure, had the standard *nodus* typical of Livia’s portrait at the time, I would lean more towards an identification as Livia. However, it would not have been beyond the realm of possibility for the ancient viewer to see Livia in this image.
- 90 Hekster, *Emperors and Ancestors*, 117–118, Fantham, *Julia Augusti: The Emperor’s Daughter*, 66–67, and Wood, *Imperial Women*, 68–69, among others.
- 91 Severy, *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire*, 136–137 discusses the prime position that Livia is given on state monuments such as the Ara Pacis Augustae, as well as the public roles that she as wife of the emperor was given, and which would become standard for future empresses as “mothers” of the state. More recently, Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 100 firmly identifies the central female portrait on the denarius of 13 BCE as Livia, stating that Livia’s position as wife of the emperor superseded that of Julia’s as Augustus’s daughter.
- 92 *RIC I*², 37.
- 93 *RIC I*², 43 and 46 are the Pietas and Iustitia coins issued in 22–23 CE whose reverse legends refer to Drusus and Tiberius respectively. See *RIC I*², 42 for coin commemorating Drusus’s twin sons.

- 94 For a statue group of Rome see Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture*, 107, no. 35; Bartman, 146, no. 2; Boschung, *Gens Augusta*, 140, no. 70.2. As Rose states, the evidence for this group comes from the *Tabula Siarensis*, which concerns a senatorial decree of 19 CE regarding the posthumous honours given to Germanicus. A section of the tabula (I. 9–11) refers to a triumphal arch to be constructed for Germanicus, which was to be placed next to a statuary group of Divus Augustus and the Domus Augusta. According to Rose, the Domus Augusta would technically have included Augustus, Tiberius, Livia, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Drusus the Younger and Germanicus. For the complete *Tabula Siarensis*, see Crawford, *Roman Statutes*, no. 37. Where they survive, Rose refers to the inscriptions that accompanied many statuary groups throughout the empire. Several examples that refer to Livia as provided by Rose include: 88, no. 11 from Forum Clodii (Italy); 121–122, no. 50 from Velleia (Italy); 140–141, no. 71 from Eleusis (Greece); 142, no. 74 from Gytheum (Greece); 161, no. 99 from Ancyra (Asia); 164, no. 104 from Aphrodisias (Asia); 182, no. 125 from Lepcis Magna (Africa).
- 95 That statues were recalled is discussed by Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response*, 208–214. See also Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 79, which indicates that statues were the inspiration for some coin portrait types. Convincing numismatic evidence for the appearance of statues on coins can be found on a coin type issued by the provincial mint of Caesaraugusta (Spain) in 4–3 BC, which shows a statuary group of Augustus with Gaius and Lucius Caesar. See *RPC* I, 319.
- 96 Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 87, no. 8 (Cumae); 88, no. 11 (Forum Clodii); 92, no. 16 (Herculaneum); 97–98, no. 25 (Ocrinum); 98, no. 26 (Paestum); 100–102, no. 30 (Ravenna); 121–122, no. 50 (Velleia).
- 97 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL) 11.3303 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (ILS) 154; Fishwick, *Imperial Cult in the Latin West* II.1, 537; Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture*, 88–89, no. 11; Horster, “Ehrungen für weibliche Mitglieder des Kaiserhauses des 1.–3. Jhs”, 57.
- 98 Lott, “The Earliest Augustan Gods Outside of Rome”, 154; Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 203–204; *Ov. Fas.* 5.147–158.
- 99 Fishwick, *Imperial Cult in the Latin West* II.1, 381; CIL 11.3076. See also Flory, “The Deification of Roman Women”, 127–128, who mentions an inscription from El-Lehs in Africa dated to 3 CE (CIL 8. 16456) set up by a freeborn couple dedicating a thanksgiving offering to *iunoni Liviae Augusti*.
- 100 Ovid, *Pont.* 3.1.161–164. See also Fishwick, *Imperial Cult in the Latin West*, II.1, 385, n.49.
- 101 Ovid, *Pont.* 2.8.1–8.
- 102 Fabbri, “Livia, Diva Augusta, Dea Cerere sul dupondio coniato dall’imperatore Claudio ne 42 D.C.”, 174. Fabbri also notes on p. 179 that Claudius had an affinity towards the goddess Ceres/Demeter and provides evidence from Suetonius (*Claud.* 25) that he even attempted to import the Eleusinian mysteries to Rome. While Claudius may have had a favourite goddess in Ceres, the standard for Livia’s numismatic representation as this goddess had already been set, making Claudius’s decision to represent the goddess Livia as Ceres on coins issued at the mint of Rome an appropriate one.
- 103 *RIC* I², 331–338, 432–433.
- 104 Kraay, *The Aes Coinage of Galba*, 58.
- 105 *RIC* I², 142–143, 150–153, 184–189, 223–224.
- 106 *RIC* I², 13–14, 36, 52, 55, 65–67.
- 107 Suet. *Galb.* 4.1.
- 108 Morelli, “La rappresentazione di Livia nella monetazione di Galba”, 106–108; Kraay, *The Aes Coinage of Galba*, 58.

- 109 *RPC* I, 2449 (Magnesia ad Sipylum), 2464, 2466 (Smyrna), 2581–2583, 2595 (Ephesus) and 2663 (Nysa).
- 110 *RPC* I, 2816 (Alabanda).
- 111 *RPC* I, 2338 (Methymna), 2496 (Clazomenae), 2450 (Magnesia ad Sipylum), 2647 (Tralles), 2662 (Nysa) and 2829 (Antioch ad Maeandrum).
- 112 *RPC* I, 1105 (Sparta) and 1346, 1348 (Chalcis). Note that Livia is not mentioned by name on these coins. Also, the quality of the portraits is somewhat limited, and one could argue an interpretation towards Julia. However, given the rarity of Julia's portrait on coins compared to Livia, as well as the fact that Livia had a special connection to Sparta, having sought refuge there alongside her first husband Tiberius Nero, who was fleeing the proscriptions of Octavian and Antony. See Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome* 17 and Dio 54.7.2 who states that Augustus had rewarded Sparta for the kindness it had shown Livia.
- 113 *RPC* I, 1104, 1106.
- 114 Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture*, 4.
- 115 Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture*, 4; Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 22.
- 116 *RIC* I, 1–2 and 6–7. See also Ginsburg, *Representing Agrippina: Constructions of Female Power in the Early Roman Empire*, 74.
- 117 Scheer, "Bilder der Macht? Repräsentationen römischer Kaiserinnen", 303.
- 118 Burnett et al., *RPC* I, 432.
- 119 *RPC* I, 2569–2573 (Antony and Octavian jugate); 2202 (Antony and Octavia jugate).
- 120 *RPC* I, 2097 (Uncertain mint, Bithynia-Pontus); 1823 (Moesia); 1708 (Thrace), 1427 (Thessalian League).
- 121 *RPC* I, 2097.
- 122 *RPC* I, 1823.
- 123 Walker and Higgs eds, *Cleopatra of Egypt*, 87, no. 92.
- 124 Only one possible example from an uncertain Asian mint depicts Julia on the reverse along with her son Gaius on the obverse. See *RPC* I, 5437.
- 125 Burnett et al., *RPC* I, 464, no. 2816 mentions that there is some question as to the identities of the portraits on this coin because of the poor quality.
- 126 *RPC* I, 2358, 2360–2363.
- 127 *RPC* I, 2829, 2831–2832 (Antioch ad Maeandrum), 2337–2339 (Methymna), 2659–2663 (Nysa), 2646–2653 (Tralles).
- 128 *RPC* I, 2833 (Antioch ad Maeandrum), 2467 (Smyrna).
- 129 *RPC* I, 1564 and 1565.
- 130 While Burnett et al, *RPC* I, 298 gives this coin a date of 20 BCE, they state that it is possible that it could have been issued later.
- 131 Coins of Livia and Tiberius on same coin: *RPC* I, 2842 (Aphrodisias-Plarasa), 2888 (Cibyra), 2673 (Mastaura), 2345 (Mytilene), 2252 (Poemanenum). Livia type coins issued as part of a series: *RPC* I, 2840 (Aphrodisias-Plarasa), 2865 (Apollonia Salbace), 2886 (Cibyra), 3160 (Eucarpia), 3148 (Eumenia), 2452–2453 (Magnesia ad Sipylum), 2568 (Mysomakedones). Corresponding coins depicting Tiberius: *RPC* I, 2839 (Aphrodisias-Plarasa), 2864 (Apollonia Salbace), 2885 (Cibyra), 3159 (Eucarpia), 3144–3147 (Eumeneia), 2451 (Magnesia ad Sipylum), 2567 (Mysomakedones).
- 132 *RPC* I, 4005–4011 (Syria); 1525–1527, 1538, 1567–1568, 1570–1571, 1634 (Macedonia); 796, 833, 835 (Africa); 40, 233 (Spain).
- 133 *RPC* I, 2842 (Aphrodisias-Plarasa), 3054 (Tripolis), 4951 (Judean Kingdom).
- 134 *RPC* I, 2369 (Pergamum), 2673 (Mastaura).
- 135 See *RPC* I, 849–850 for Lepcis Magna coin.
- 136 *RPC* I, 4005.
- 137 Dio 58.2.1–6. For further discussion on Livia as *mater patriae*, see Chapter 4, p. xx.

- 138 *RPC I*, 3131–3134 (Apamea), 2366–2369 (Pergamum), 2989, 2991–2992 (Sardis), 3052–3054, 3058 (Tripolis), 3917–3926 (Cyprus), 2127 (Sinope), 711–712 (Hippo Regius).
- 139 *RPC I*, 848 (Lepcis Magna), 66–72 (Italica), 73–75 (Colonia Romula), 228–233 (Tarraco). See also Boschung, *Gens Augusta*, 158–160.
- 140 *RPC I*, 233.
- 141 *RPC I*, 1149–1150.
- 142 *RPC I*, 1151–1171. Tiberius's son and preferred successor, Drusus the Younger, died in 23 CE.
- 143 Hoskins Walbank, "Evidence for the Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Corinth", 202–204. Here, the author also draws attention to the issue of why these coins appear so late in Tiberius's reign. She suggests that the coin issues coincide with the anniversary of the original dedication of the temple, or even perhaps the 20th anniversary of the accession of Tiberius. Hoskins Walbank also makes this argument in her more recent article "Image and Cult: the coinage of Roman Corinth", 158–159. That the Romans were inclined to issue coins marking significant anniversaries has been advocated by Michael Grant in *Roman Anniversary Issues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950).
- 144 Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture*, 138–139, no. 69. Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, cites two inscriptions from Corinth: p. 205, no. 39 refers to Augustan Diana and is a statue base that may have once bore a statue of Livia as Diana; p. 210, no. 72 is a dedication to Livia found in a Roman building, but there is no indication as to whether this inscription was connected to a statue.
- 145 *RPC I*, 4049 (Mopsus), 2126 (Sinope), 986 (Cnossus), 66–67 (Italica).
- 146 *RPC I*, 5019.
- 147 *RPC I*, 5006 and 5008.
- 148 *RPC I*, 5042.
- 149 *RPC I*, 5089–5105.
- 150 *Supra*, n. 32 and 33.
- 151 *RIC I*², 24.
- 152 Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres*, 100.
- 153 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 72–73, 112–114, 129–131; Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture*; Boschung, *Gens Augusta*.
- 154 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 21–22, 73 and 171–172, nos. 60–61; Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture*, 172–176, nos. 112–116; Boschung, *Gens Augusta*, 66, no. 18.2.
- 155 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 112 and 167, no. 47; Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture*, 126–128, no. 52.
- 156 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 112 and 179, no. 72; Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture*, 182–184, no. 125; Boschung, *Gens Augusta*, 8, no. 1.4.
- 157 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 79 and 167, no. 49; Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture*, 128–129, no. 53; Boschung, *Gens Augusta*, 111, no. 37.1.
- 158 Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 180–181, no. 123. See also Tac. *Ann.* 4.56 which states that a former praetor of Rome, Valerius Naso, became the official in charge of the new temple. Note that no statue of the emperor Augustus was found among the group.
- 159 Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 164–168, nos. 104–105 (Aphrodisias), 172–174, nos. 112–113 and 175–176, nos. 115–116 (Ephesus), 182–185, nos. 125–126.
- 160 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 265–293; Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 199–211; Hahn, *Die Frauen des Römische Kaiserhauses und Ihre Ehrungen im griechischen Osten anhand Epigraphischer und Numismatischer Zeugnisse von Livia bis Sabina*, 322–332.
- 161 Noreña, *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West*, 245ff; Noreña, "Coins and Communication", 264. Noreña's studies demonstrate that the appearance of certain

epithets (virtues) of the emperor on inscriptions occurred closely behind the initial appearance of related epithets on coinage.

- 162 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 203, no. 31. *CIL* 2.2038:

Juliae Aug. Drusi [fil] Div[i Aug] matri Ti.
Caesaris Aug. principis et conservatoris et Drusi
Germanici [g]en[etric]is orbis
M. Cornelius Proculus pontifex Caesarum

- 163 Brännstedt, *Femina Princeps*, 147–148; Horster, “Coinage and images of the imperial family: local identity and Roman rule”, 247.
164 *RPC* I, 1563 (Thessalonica), 2496 (Clazomenae), 2338 (Methymna).
165 *RPC* I, 2453 (Magnesia ad Sipylum), 2345 (Mytilene).
166 *RPC* I, 1634 (Amphipolis), 1779 (Byzantium).
167 *RPC* I, 4049.
168 *RPC* I, 4011.
169 *RPC* I, 2359 (Pergamum), 3143 (Eumeneia), 1427 (Thessalian League)
170 *RPC* I, 1346 and 1348.
171 Burrell, *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors*, 40; Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 180–181, no. 123 argues that the portrait of Livia with stephane that appeared on the coins makes a strong case for the cult statue of Livia in the new temple at Smyrna being adorned with a diadem as well. Note that one coin type of Livia from Augusta (Syria), *RPC* I, 4011, also includes a diadem.
172 *RPC* I, 5055.
173 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 206, n.68, which cites *P. Oxy.* 2435 verso, 45.
174 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 209 and 223.
175 Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres*, 23, who also refers here to a portrait of Augustus where he wears the *corona spicea*, the crown of grain and poppies that was one of the key attributes of Ceres.
176 *Ibid.*
177 *RPC* I, 1566; Mikocki, *Sub Specie Deae: Le Impératrices et Princesses Romaines Assimilées à des Déeses, Étude Iconologique*, 20.
178 *RPC* I, 5027 (cornucopiae with fillet), 5043 (modius between torches), 5079 (ears of grain with poppies).
179 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 94; *RPC* I, 5053.
180 *RPC* I, 4959, 4961, 4963–4967. These coins also include one with an image of a laurel, another with vine branch and leaf, one with a vase with two handles, and one with a palm branch. It is important to note that some of these coins have a rough artistic rendering and one could easily interpret the laurel or palm branch as an ear of grain. See also Morelli, “Ancora sull’iconografia di Livia: le emissioni provinciali”, 440, and Strickert, “The Dying Grain Which Bears Much Fruit: John 12:24, Livia Cult, and Bethsaida”, 168–169.
181 Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres*, 169–170.
182 *Ibid.*
183 Wallensten, “Interactive Aphrodite: Greek Responses to the Idea of Aphrodite as Ancestress of the Romans”, 279–280. Wallensten further explains here the significance of the “new” designation stating that “New Gods are a certain combination of mortals and gods that become visible in the epigraphic sources in the Late Hellenistic and Early Imperial periods”, and that the designation implies a replacing, if not surpassing, of the ‘old’ deity. Further research is needed, but not possible here, to confirm this claim of superseding ‘old’ gods, but there can be no denying an assimilation of Livia to these gods.
184 *Inscriptiones Graecae (IG)* II.2. no. 3240. See also Stafford, “‘The People to the goddess Livia’: Attic Nemesis and the Roman Imperial Cult”, 221.

- 185 *IG* XII.8 no. 65, Hahn, *Die Frauen des Römische Kaiserhauses*, 330, no. 80 and Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 207, no. 53, who indicates that this is a statue base. See also Stafford, “‘The People to the goddess Livia’: Attic Nemesis and the Roman Imperial Cult”, 221. See also Winkler, *Salus vom Staatskult zur Politischen Idee*, 47–48.
- 186 Kremydi-Sicilianou, “‘Belonging’ to Rome, ‘Remaining’ Greek: Roman Macedonia”, 98.
- 187 Kremydi-Sicilianou, “‘Belonging’ to Rome, ‘Remaining’ Greek: Roman Macedonia”, 98, n. 31–32. Here, the author refers to the decree of Kalindoia, which refers to a priest of Zeus, Rome and Caesar and in which Augustus is referred to as ΘΕΟΣ, as well as an altar to the deified Augustus at Akanthos.
- 188 *L’Année épigraphique (AE)* 1971, no. 439, inscription from a statue base accompanied by one for Augustus dating to 31–27 BC, which attests to the early worship of Livia in Attica. Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 38 mentions that Livia may have taken the opportunity to be initiated into the Eleusinian rites when she and Augustus visited Athens in 19 BCE.
- 189 *IG* II.2, no. 3238. See also Stafford, “‘The People to the goddess Livia’: Attic Nemesis and the Roman Imperial Cult”, 220.
- 190 Klose, “Festivals and Games in the Cities of the East during the Roman Empire”, 127 (Gytheum); Fishwick, *Imperial Cult in the Latin West* II.1, 548, 552 and 618 (Gytheum, Tanagra, Rhamnous and Athens); Stafford, “‘The People to the goddess Livia’: Attic Nemesis and the Roman Imperial Cult”, 232–233 (Rhamnous).
- 191 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 206.
- 192 For temples and shrines to Augustus in Asia Minor see Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, p. 249–261, in particular nos. 5, 7, 13, 16, 19, 27–30, 45, 56, 60, 63, 64.
- 193 R. A. Kearsley, “Women and Public Life in Asia Minor: Hellenistic Tradition and Augustan Ideology”, 100–101.
- 194 Kearsley, “Women and Public Life in Asia Minor”, 101. See also Strabo 12.3.31 and Pliny *NH* 6.4.11.
- 195 Regarding sanctuary and temple at Eresus see Price, *Rituals and Power*, 249, no. 5; regarding the Heraion at Samos see Fishwick, *Imperial Cult in the Latin West* II.1, 548; regarding worship of Augustus and Livia at Ephesus see Price, 255, no. 30 and Stafford, “‘The People to the goddess Livia’: Attic Nemesis and the Roman Imperial Cult”, 221.
- 196 *RPC* I, 2469; *Tac. Ann.* 4.15 and 55–56. Construction of the temple likely began c. 24 CE. See also Price, *Rituals and Power*, 258, no. 45 and Fishwick *Imperial Cult in the Latin West* III.1, 230 which states that this was a digression from Augustus’ decree that temples be built only to him and Roma. Clearly, a new protocol has been permitted by Tiberius, from which he naturally benefitted.
- 197 Kearsley, “Women and Public Life in Asia Minor”, 107.
- 198 *RPC* I, 763, 766, 769 (Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna), 795 (Thapsus).
- 199 *RPC* I, 796–797.
- 200 Chaves Tristan, “Livia como Venus en la amonedación de Colonia Romula”, 95; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 90; Mikocki, *Sub Specie Deae*, 28–29; Morelli, “Ancora sull’iconografia di Livia: le emissioni provinciali”, 439.
- 201 *Ibid.* Rives, “Venus Genetrix Outside Rome”, 294 states that Julius Caesar’s building of the temple of Venus Genetrix in his forum gave public form to his traditional family cult, which certainly served to further symbolize and promote Caesar’s unique position within the state. See also Galinsky, “Venus, Polysemy, and the Ara Pacis Augustae”, 468, where Venus is alluded to on the Ara Pacis Augustae as the “Genetrix of the *Domus Augusta*”.
- 202 Chaves Tristan, “Livia como Venus en la amonedación de Colonia Romula”, 93–95. Here the author points out that the globe likely also refers to Venus Genetrix, found on a denarius of Caesar that shows Venus with a Victoria on a globe.

- 203 Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres*, 100.
- 204 *RPC* I, 538.
- 205 *CIL* 2.2038; Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 276; Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 203, no. 31. The inscription is from a statue base and it refers to Livia as the daughter of Drusus, wife of the deified Augustus, mother of Tiberius Caesar Augustus and of Drusus Germanicus, ending in the appellation “mother of the world”.
- 206 Tac. *Ann.* 4.37. See also Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 163 and Fishwick, *Imperial Cult in the Latin West*, I.1, 160, I.2, 198 and III.1, 38. Barrett, 213 states that Smyrna won the privilege of building the temple to Tiberius, Livia and the Senate citing over 200 years of loyal service to Rome.
- 207 Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration*, 132, no. 59.
- 208 Fishwick, *Imperial Cult in the Latin West*, III.3, 77–78 and 195. See also Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 167, no. 48.
- 209 Fishwick, *Imperial Cult in the Latin West*, III.3, 84–85. Fishwick notes a somewhat questionable archaeological context, but states that these portraits, along with the ones of Augustus as Jupiter and Livia as Ceres/Juno may have part of an *Augusteum* rather than a municipal temple dedicated to imperial cult.
- 210 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 168, no. 50; *RPC* I, 55.
- 211 Fishwick, *Imperial Cult in the Latin West*, III.3, 245 and footnote 26.
- 212 *AE* 1915, no. 95; Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 275. This inscription refers to a Cnaeus Cornelius as priest of Julia Augusta. See also Fishwick, *Imperial Cult in the Latin West*, I.1, 183. Fishwick goes on here to state that both Concordia Augusti and Salus Augusti also received local cults. Evidence of cult statues of Divus Augustus and Livia as Diva Augusta have also been found at this location, Fishwick, *Imperial Cult in the Latin West*, III.1, 56–57.
- 213 Fishwick, *Imperial Cult in the Latin West*, I.2, 276. See also Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 168–169, no. 51.
- 214 Fishwick, *Imperial Cult in the Latin West* II.1, 450–451 and 521–522. Fishwick also mentions a later smaller temple dedicated soon after Livia’s deification in 42 CE, which was dedicated to Augustus and Livia. See also Lott, “The Earliest Augustan Gods Outside of Rome”, 150–151.
- 215 Wood, *Imperial Women*, 121; Mikocki, *Sub Specie Deae*, 151, no. 2; Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 179–180, no. 74. Wood argues that an elite family desired to honour Livia with a local cult and ensured that small temple, along with its cult statue, was in a highly visible location.
- 216 Several inscriptions attest to this including *AE* 1975, no. 403, ILS 1321, *CIL* 12.1845. See Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 274.
- 217 For the statue see Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 155, no. 20. For the inscription see *CIL* 10. 7501, Bartman, 206–207, no. 50 and Hahn, *Die Frauen des Römische Kaiserhauses*, 77, no. 91.
- 218 Burnett et al, *RPC* I, 249. Here the authors list the *duoviri* who served from 44 BCE to 68–69 CE.
- 219 Dio 58.2.1–6. Here Dio relates that upon Livia’s death people were calling Livia “Mother of her Country” because she had saved the lives of many, reared the children of many and had helped many to pay their daughters’ dowries.
- 220 Purcell, “Livia and the Womanhood of Rome”, 87. See also Grether, “Livia and the Roman Imperial Cult”, 231, who states that inscriptions from both Athens and Thasos refer to Livia as *εὐεργετη*, which is reminiscent of the honours of Hellenistic royal families.
- 221 Purcell, “Livia and the Womanhood of Rome”, 88.

“ULIXES STOLATUS”

affirming Livia’s power and gender roles through coins

The last two chapters have been devoted to the mapping of Livia’s coin images in order to trace how these images were developed and how they functioned within the broader visual programme that was conceived for Livia. What has been revealed through this analytical process of visual mapping is that the iconography developed for representing Livia on coins transcended multiple media, including sculpture and cameos, found across the varied regions of the Roman Empire. Chapter 2 demonstrated that there were specific formulae, or visual syntaxes, in place for visualizing Livia in each of the syntagmatic visual modes detailed: portrait, seated female figure and standing female figure. These formulae, which could vary depending on mint and mint authority, controlled the manner in which Livia was portrayed in order to convey particular messages about the empress, her gender and power roles, and the ideology which essentially was the source of such images. In the course of the previous chapters substantial visual evidence has been presented, numismatic and otherwise, that demonstrated Livia’s prominent status in Rome and the Empire. Livia’s socially and culturally potent visual image, composed of gender-based image elements, became a facet in the ideology of imperial power conveyed by Livia’s ruling male relatives and their supporters. Gender-based power and associated social roles, even in an ideological sense, can be constructed through various visual media which function in distinctive contexts including monumental, state-sponsored art like sculpture and more common consumer art such as figurines and pottery.¹

Making images is a social practice whereby representation serves as an ideological tool.² According to Kampen, “The job of representation, if we can call it that, is to reconfigure the world; in the process it may help to challenge or to reproduce social arrangements in such a way as to make institutions and practices seem completely natural, so inevitable and universal that they couldn’t possibly need any help at all”.³ Just as the image elements of sculpture were designed according to a visual grammar that conveyed to the viewer messages concerning gender and power, coins too were semiotically composed and thereby infused with the capacity to communicate such messages. Taking into consideration the relationship between image composition and ideology, this chapter examines how coins depicting Livia bore meaningfully constituted

images which communicated Livia's gender-based power and status. In particular, I will demonstrate how coin images can be used to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the power and influence embodied in Livia's visual persona and what this can tell us about the use of male-female gender-based ideologies of power early in the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Special attention will be given to exceptional coin types and attributes in Livia's numismatic visual repertoire that best demonstrate Livia's unique status, such as Livia as divine figure, Livia with the Augustan attributes of the laurel and the Capricorn, as well as her close association with the goddess Vesta. Even though Livia did not fit into and was on the margins of the official power hierarchy of her male relatives, she did exude a multi-faceted power best explained through the theory of heterarchy, which considers power to be a meshwork of social variables, as opposed to a top-down hierarchy where such variables are ranked one atop the other. Such an approach will reveal that Livia's images on coins not only reflected her own legitimate power and status, but were potent symbols of male power and legitimacy as well.

Hierarchy or heterarchy? Understanding gender-infused male-female power ideologies in Livia's coin images

The evidence presented thus far indicates that coin images were influenced by societal concepts of gender. Gender played into negotiations of male-female power in early Roman imperial society, and in turn orchestrated the development and dissemination of Livia's coin images during this period, which spoke to the ideology that the concord of the imperial family brought stability, peace and prosperity to the Empire. Firstly, it is important to consider who generated such images and for what audience. As with the majority of ancient literary and epigraphic sources, it is generally understood and accepted by scholars that men, who dominated ancient society as a whole, were responsible for the design of the visual programmes from which particular images emerged.⁴ Despite the question of whether Livia's coin images were produced for the appreciation and contemplation of a male or female audience, such images were created by dominant groups in order to sustain social structures. These dominant groups desired to represent the world in forms that reflected their own interests and the interests of their power.⁵ In essence, the ideology of the dominant group produces images of the world as it ought to be from their point of view, and at the same time, as it is from the vantage point of the dominated group.⁶ In the case of the representations pertaining to Livia on coins, we can safely assume that this dominant group consisted of the emperor and/or those male-elite members of Roman imperial society who had a hand in designing these images for the coins.

Before turning to Livia's coin images and their communication of her gender-based power relations and status, some insight into the relationship between gender and power is needed. Power, in and of itself, is a complex and abstract concept for which there is no hard and fast definition. Still, it is necessary to briefly

address the meaning of power, particularly as it applies to this discussion regarding the visual representation of Livia as part of a discourse concerning gender and gender-based power relations. At its most basic level, power is imbued with notions of status, prestige, importance, influence and dominance.⁷ It has been more generally conceived as the dominance of one group over another, but the philosopher Foucault questioned the idea that there was one over-arching, central agency of power in society, arguing that power is widely dispersed and diffused on a variety of social levels.⁸ Power is the product of social relations interwoven on a number of levels (gender, political, religious, etc.), which results in the influence, but not necessarily direct dominance, of one individual or group in society over another.⁹ Therefore, power and power relations is neither static nor consistent, but rather they are very fluid and in a constant state of flux. Gender as social construct is intricately connected to the concept of power. Gender as a category of analysis regarding power relations provides the opportunity to question binary absolutes and the supposed opposition between male and female.¹⁰ For Romans, gender was perceived as a culturally constructed social category concerned with power, as well as the creation and maintenance of power hierarchies.¹¹ Gender stems from social relationships based on perceived differences between sexes (gender-defined sex as opposed to biological) thus making it a primary way of signifying relationships of power.¹² Therefore, gender is closely connected to “relations between the sexes” including power relations.

Roman perceptions of power can be found in the way Romans defined and promoted gender-based roles and social status through various media, both visual and literary. For men and women, particularly those of Roman citizen status, efforts were made to define and prompt male and female gender roles both in legal terms and through dress codes.¹³ Ancient literary sources attest to the “ideal” social roles associated with each of these gender categories. Ideal Roman women were to be modest both in dress and demeanour, faithful and devoted to their husbands and families, and respectful of their husband’s authority, while men ideally were independent, rational, strong, composed and active in public life.¹⁴ Many such descriptions come from literature composed by and for the elite Roman male who “constructed gender in such a way as to make clear their dominance over many facets of Roman life”.¹⁵ Concerning Livia, the literary sources provide ample commentary on her gender roles and social status, demonstrating that she was firmly placed within the socially scripted ideals established for the good Roman matron.¹⁶ Yet, at the same time the literary and visual evidence also demonstrate that a new social standard was formulated for the imperial Roman matron – as empress, wife and mother with divine associations – of the newly established Augustan principate and Julio-Claudian dynasty. The coins played a significant role in communicating Livia’s unprecedented status, power and influence as the first empress of Rome through a gender-infused iconographical programme.

While gender is most certainly a defining and influencing element in power relations, this does not mean that power is strictly male-dominated nor hierarchical

in nature. With respect to the dominant and dominated groups in society, the incorporation of gender into analyses of power encourages emphasis on variability and fluctuation.¹⁷ Power relations and the social structures that define them have generally been interpreted and analysed within the framework of the concept of hierarchy, which is simply defined as an organizational structure where some elements are subordinate to others and may be ranked.¹⁸ But recent studies, in particular those presented by Levy and others, argue that influence and authority is dispersed over a number of groups in society, both male and female, who exploit diverse means of legitimization and control in a heterarchical way rather than hierarchical.¹⁹ Levy provides Crumley's definition of heterarchy which states that “structures are heterarchical when each element is either unranked relative to other elements or possess the potential for being ranked in a number of different ways”.²⁰ I believe that the latter is the case regarding Livia's power and status as conveyed through coin images whose designs were influenced by the heterarchical characteristic of “multidimensional and continually shifting standards of rank”.²¹ Images of Livia on coins, and other media such as sculpture and cameos, could also be quite fluid and could even challenge how social status and gender roles were communicated by infusing Livia's image with exceptional, and even at times masculinizing, iconographic elements.

Heterarchy explains the shifting representational format in which Livia is portrayed on coins: 1) on par with, yet somewhat subordinate to, husband or son when her portrait is situated behind theirs in the jugate format or her image is placed on the reverse side of a coin with her male relative on the obverse; 2) as almost equal to male counterparts in the case of facing portraits; or 3) as an authority figure in her own right when she is the sole representative of the imperial family depicted on a coin. In addition, the multifariousness of visual attributes employed in Livia's numismatic visual repertoire lends to her diversity of rank and gender identities, particularly in such instances where she is depicted with the attributes of a goddess or when she shares certain attributes, such as the laurel crown or Capricorn, with her male counterparts.

Heterarchy, as opposed to the pyramidal rigidity of hierarchy, has the advantage of acknowledging the presence of, and provides a means to analysing, the variability, context and fluctuation of power structures in Roman and other pre-modern societies.²² Thus, multiple dominant groups in early Roman imperial society likely influenced the diversity of power-infused messages reflected through Livia's gendered coin images. According to Levy, hierarchies are considered to be subsets of heterarchy in which men hold positions of status and power related to certain gender roles within society, while women can hold comparably significant positions related to other gender roles.²³ Under the Julio-Claudian regime, the concept of power was intimately linked to the family and the gender roles that were part and parcel to the cohesiveness and posterity of the familial unit. While patriarchy was the dominant social structure in Roman society, women were still seen as essential to the success of the Roman family and, under Augustus and his successors, the Roman imperial regime. In the case of the emperor, whether Augustus or Tiberius,

the gender roles of father and protector became key elements in their authority to rule. For Livia on the other hand, the roles of wife and most importantly mother, were seen as key elements in the maintenance of imperial rule. Augustus openly supported and even instituted measures that gave Livia a sanctioned public role, as well as privileges to act within the parameters of that role in ways that were traditionally reserved for the elite Roman male. These measures included the special grant of *sacrosanctitas* given to Livia and Augustus's sister Octavia in 35 BCE, a privilege originally granted to tribunes of the plebs to provide protection from public insult, and thus associated with political office.²⁴ Livia was also connected to various building projects in Rome, some of which she helped to fund, including the Porticus Liviae, the Temple of Concordia (along with her son Tiberius), and the Temple of Divus Augustus (also with Tiberius) and the renovation of the Temples of Bona Dea and Fortuna Muliebris.²⁵ She held unprecedented priest-hoods both at Rome and in the provinces, and priest-hoods for her worship were also set up in both east and west.²⁶ Her wealth was exceptional and as a result, she was a prolific patron of the peoples of the Empire. She was even granted the honour of riding in a *carpentum*, an ornate, two-wheeled covered carriage previously reserved for Vestals and sacred objects, the significance of which I will speak further on later in this chapter.²⁷ These circumstances enabled Livia to achieve unprecedented status and influence as wife and mother of the emperor that crossed gender norms. Yet, these male versus female gender roles were interdependent, one aiding in the definition and endorsement of the other.

Staples has argued that Roman women derived their identity from their relationship to one or more prominent men and that they were subordinate to that defining relationship.²⁸ However, the prominence of Livia's image on provincial coins, and its occasional presence on the coins of Rome, indicates that Livia's image was considered essential to defining, at least in part, the nature of the power wielded by male imperial family members, most importantly that of the emperor himself. The emperor and his male successors saw the advantages of using the image of Livia as mother and good Roman matron, and even as divinely connected figure, in order to give the subjects of empire confidence in their authority to rule.²⁹ This necessity gave Livia's images, and thereby her idealized persona, an unprecedented and unique status and power that was above that of any other woman, and most men, in the Empire. Livia's image on coins was frequently accompanied by those of male imperial family members. More needs to be said about the significance of these familial associations as communicated on coins and what this tells us about Livia's perceived power, as well as how her image was used by men to help define and commemorate the socio-political ideology of the ruling regime. This brings us to a very important question regarding Livia's power and how it was perceived in relation to her powerful male relatives, especially her emperor-husband Augustus and his successor, her son Tiberius. Did these emperors see Livia's power and influence as necessary to their own and perhaps even as an essential component for the legitimization of their rule? There are some differences of opinion among scholars on this count. Corbier argues that a shortage of male heirs in the Julio-Claudian

dynasty and a desire to maintain a blood link back to Augustus meant that right to rule was best claimed through female lines.³⁰ Severy, on the other hand, argues that the emperor Tiberius did not see Livia's power as necessary to his own, but rather saw the advantages Livia's influence had in the political sphere. In essence, Livia was important and powerful in her own right,³¹ even if that right was superficial rather than instituted by law. Therefore, the coin images were designed to represent ideological facets of Livia's power and how it related to and defined the power of the emperor and his family.

What has been discussed thus far has focused specifically on how Livia's coin images were constructed and how individual image elements relayed messages concerning her status and gender roles. The fact that ideology played a key role in the design and composition of all art forms, including coins, means that coins played a significant part in conveying complex socio-political structures and privilege to the Roman masses.³² Images inspired by a society's ideology of gender help to reinforce and explain power relationships between men and women.³³ Bearing in mind that visual images do not reflect everyday reality nor the actual practice of gender roles,³⁴ portrayals of women enable us to understand gender relationships and their influence on power structures at Rome. From this we are also able to gauge how male attitudes towards gender and power influenced the depiction of women.³⁵

Livia's image, as well as those of the emperor and other imperial family members on the coins of Rome and the provinces, became a compelling component in the discourse on power rooted in imperial dynasty. Livia's image was symptomatic of her own power and status in Rome and its Empire, but also of the monopoly on power held by imperial family members. While Livia was part of the Roman imperial power equation, she did not hold power in an official capacity. Livia's coin images portrayed her various gender roles as mother, matron and priestess, which hierarchically placed her above all other women in each of those gender categories. But her coin images, especially when imbued with certain attributes such as the laurel or sceptre, as well as the fact that she appeared on coins at all, present her as more than just a mother and place her into a multi-dimensional gender category that gives her a status and place of power that is above that of nearly all other men in the Empire except the emperor himself. In order to communicate a message of power using the female form, scholars have noticed a trend towards the incorporation of masculine associations and iconographic elements into the female visual repertoire.³⁶ In terms of heterarchy, Livia thus carried a power and influence outside of the law and established gender norms, which became an ideological message endorsed through coin images in their incorporation of diverse gender-infused image elements.

Livia as “femina princeps” and her exceptional numismatic accolades

The gender roles of men and women in Roman society were communicated through a variety of media: literary works, epigraphic dedications and visual

media including sculpture, intaglios and coins. The gender-based messages communicated by these various media can differ significantly from one media type to the next, which adds to the complexities of trying to understand the intertextuality surrounding the ideology of gender and gender roles. In general, Roman literature did not paint a picture of women as being powerful by nature nor as representative or symbolic of power. Women were traditionally considered the weaker of the sexes, but when they exercised power and influence, they were deemed potentially dangerous.³⁷ Even Livia's power and influence was cited as problematic by the ancient authors Tacitus, Cassius Dio and Suetonius. Dio states that Livia played a very public and political role that surpassed that of all women, so much so that she even seemed to share power with Tiberius,³⁸ while Suetonius reports that Livia even claimed an equal share in her son's rule.³⁹ Tacitus cites Livia as having a female lack of self-restraint.⁴⁰ A famous passage from Suetonius highlights that the Emperor Caligula's favourite appellation for his great-grandmother was *Ulixes stolatus*, “Ulysses in a stola”.⁴¹ Barrett points out that while this reference to Livia comes from a section of Suetonius' biography describing Caligula's disdain for his relatives, nonetheless there is perhaps a tone of admiration in comparing her to the clever and crafty Greek hero from the Homeric epic the *Odyssey*.⁴²

On the other hand, observers in Rome contemporary to Livia acknowledged her exceptional and unprecedented place of power, as when Ovid referred to Livia as *femina princeps*, no doubt used in an attempt to flatter her from his place in exile.⁴³ *Princeps*, translated as “leading citizen of Rome”, was an epithet used primarily for Augustus, and also his heirs.⁴⁴ The referral to Livia as *princeps* was echoed in the honourific poem *Consolatio ad Liviam*, which was likely written sometime during the reign of Tiberius although the subject of the poem is the death of Livia's son Drusus in 9 BCE and her mourning his loss. Reference to Livia as *princeps* occurs a couple of times in the poem, but more importantly emphasis is also given to Livia's close connection to the male *principes*, Augustus and his heirs, and the distinct virtue and authority she bears as mother of the imperial family.⁴⁵ As Jenkins states, the author of *Consolatio ad Liviam* attempts to reconcile “Livia's gender with her (perhaps troubling) powers of *auctoritas*”.⁴⁶ Thus, Livia's very public face and authority was intimately tied to her role as imperial mother and model of the Roman matron,⁴⁷ as conveyed in literature, inscriptions and visual media including portraits and coinage. Given that men were the authors of the majority of Roman literary works, it is safe to assume that men were also the designers of the images found in Roman visual media from sculpture to cameos, but perhaps none more so than coins, an official medium of the state. Livia as an elite Roman woman was the exception, *femina princeps*, in a man's world. And the coins issued for her commemoration, with their specially designed gender-infused visual language, demonstrated this exceptional status for the first time in Rome's history.

The evidence of the coins seems to indicate that, given Livia's particular sphere of influence and specific gender roles, she had a new and distinct position of power and status that developed alongside that of the emperor. While literary texts attested to Livia's unique and unprecedented status as *femina princeps*, she

was never referred to in these terms specifically on inscriptions nor on coins. Therefore, new iconographical approaches were developed for Livia's image in portraiture and coinage that negotiated the tension that existed given Livia's paradoxical status. As we have seen in Chapter 3, coins representing Livia, especially that originating from the provinces, paint Livia as a virtual partner in power and as a key player in maintaining the dynastic succession, as demonstrated by the jugate and paired portraits of Livia with male imperial family members. As the numismatic, sculptural and epigraphical evidence shows, Livia was the first Roman woman to become a prolific model of motherhood in early imperial Rome. She was not simply portrayed as a model mother for all Roman women to emulate, but as the dominant female in the imperial family, the *materfamilias*, counterpart to the emperor's position as dominant male or *paterfamilias*. Livia was promoted in visual media as a mother who played a key role in perpetuating the ruling dynasty, but also as the mother of all subjects of empire. This message was communicated on coins through her partnering with key male family members, her association with certain “mother” goddesses such as Ceres and Juno, and through coin legends which explicitly refer to her as “mother”. This representation of Livia's power occurred despite accounts in ancient historical sources that Julio-Claudian emperors, such as Tiberius and Claudius, tried to curb the power and influence that their female relatives could potentially wield.⁴⁸ The negotiation between Livia's power, gender and status as *femina princeps* was also tested using masculine, or male-related, titles and iconography found on exceptional coins of the provinces.

Livia as mother of empire

In recent studies, scholars have questioned the validity of the female-domestic/ male-public dichotomy by showing how women's domestic roles were important in the public sphere.⁴⁹ Kampen identified that when imperial royal women were depicted on coins, seldom do the images and texts diverge from the dominant ideological patterns that associated women with the private world and the family, made manifest as a complex system of symbols of abstract social and political concepts representative of the ruling regime.⁵⁰ Augustus and his heirs expressed their interest in preserving the dynastic succession through the idealizing narratives of power and kinship rooted in traditional Roman concepts of the importance of family and reproduction, concepts very much engrained in the private sphere, but now taking on a very public face through the promulgation of portrait images of imperial family members.⁵¹ Thus, an ideological concept was developed that equated the survival and success of the imperial family with the survival and success of the state. This combining of familial and civic traditions facilitated a redefining of the traditional gender role of mother giving it a new public face and new status for Roman women, especially those of elite classes.⁵² The numismatic evidence reveals that Livia was a Roman mother unlike any other past or present, marking her as the *materfamilias* of the subjects of Rome and its Empire.

The first explicit appearance of Livia’s portrait on coins of Rome came in 22–23 CE when a series of dupondii were issued that commemorated a set of abstract concepts that described the ideological good aspects of the Tiberian regime: Salus, Iustitia and Pietas. Of special significance was the Salus one, which presented the obverse portrait of Livia along with the legend SALVS AVGVSTA (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.1). What is particularly noteworthy about this type is that while the legend accompanying the portrait does not explicitly refer to Livia by her proper name *Iulia Augusta*, the use of “Augusta” here modifies “Salus” linking the virtue of “security and well-being” with Livia as mother of the emperor and of the subjects of empire. In contrast, the other two personifications in the series lack the “Augusta” epithet and their portraits are rather generic when compared to the individualized features of the Salus one,⁵³ which can be readily identified as Livia when compared to sculptural portraits of her of similar style and type.

Barrett has argued that neither the coin portrait nor its accompanying legend refers in any sort of direct way to Livia, even stating that the portrait is “technically not hers. . .”, but he does acknowledge the possibility that the general public would have recognized the image as referring to Livia.⁵⁴ As has been demonstrated in Chapter 2, a comparison of the portrait on the Salus dupondius with sculptural portraits of Livia show striking similarities, and the repetition of this portrait type on several provincial coins reveals that this image was intended to be a representation of Livia. A dupondius issued by the colony Emerita in Spain during the reign of Tiberius (Figure 4.1) presents Livia’s portrait on the obverse along with the legend SALVS AVGVSTA, while the reverse depicts



Figure 4.1 AE Dupondius from Emerita (Spain) with a portrait of Livia referred to as Salus on the obverse and with Livia seated on a throne holding sceptre and ears of grain on the reverse. Undated, reign of Tiberius. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

Livia seated along with her name IVLIA AVGVSTA. Here, there is a direct link via the relation between obverse and reverse types exhibiting a clear association between the two.

Through the Salus coins Livia is presented on an official product of the state and as a key player in ensuring the state's health and well-being,⁵⁵ a blessed condition achieved under the auspices of Julio-Claudian rule, in particular Tiberius's. In the case of the Salus coin, Livia is the first example in which imperial women as members of dynasty came to represent abstract political and social concepts necessary to the success of regime.⁵⁶ Some scholars have argued that this coin issue was prompted by the occasion of Livia's recent recovery from serious illness,⁵⁷ but at the same time they recognize that deeper connotations are extant in this image. This coin type bore complex associations linked with notable protective aspects of Livia's role as mother of the imperial family. An examination of the reverse legends of not only the Salus dupondius, but also its Pietas and Iustitia counterparts spell out a correlation between Livia and the perpetuation and legitimization of the dynasty.⁵⁸ The reverses of the Salus and Iustitia coins bear the titles of Tiberius, while the Pietas one carries those of Drusus the Younger, Tiberius's son and successor. Livia's role as mother of the imperial family meant that she was also mother of the state and its subjects, and as such, she was conceived and perceived, albeit ideologically, as a protector of the state. The role of wife and mother as guardian of the household and its members is well-attested in ancient literary sources as detailed to great extent by Pearce.⁵⁹

The death of Augustus and the accession of Tiberius brought about a new set of particularly significant honours for Livia. Livia was appointed priestess of the newly established cult of the deified Augustus and was adopted into the *gens Iulia* and was henceforth referred to as *Iulia Augusta*. But it was also at this time that the Senate proposed honours that not only would have heightened her status as mother of the imperial family, but also aimed to establish her as mother of the Empire in an official sense. The Senate wished to give her the honorific title *mater patriae* (mother of the country) or *parens patriae* (parent of the country).⁶⁰ The title would have given Livia an unprecedented distinction by echoing Augustus's title *pater patriae*, which was given to him by the Senate and Roman people in 2 BCE.⁶¹ The philosopher Seneca, a tutor and advisor to the emperor Nero, also noted the gravity of the title as standing above any other and to let the *princeps* know that he had been entrusted with *patria potestas*, “paternal power”, over the state.⁶² Thus, for Livia to be given a female title comparable to that which had been granted to Augustus would have formally acknowledged Livia's already obvious public role in the state.⁶³ Livia was already active as “mother of the state” in very practical ways including funding the raising of children and providing dowries for impoverished brides.⁶⁴ She was also a noteworthy *patrona* to many in Rome and throughout the Empire, having interceded on behalf of both individuals and communities, and contributing to various building projects.⁶⁵ However, Tiberius refused to allow such honourific titles to be granted to his mother.



Figure 4.2 AE Dupondius from Lepcis Magna (Africa) with Livia seated on the reverse and the legend AVGVSTA MATER PATRIA(e). Undated, reign of Tiberius. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Interestingly, even though Tiberius denied the official bestowal of such titles on Livia in Rome, there is a strong indication that the Senate’s sentiment towards Livia as *mater patriae* resonated throughout the Empire.⁶⁶ The title appeared on coins of Lepcis Magna in North Africa (Figure 4.2) where on the reverse of the coins she is depicted seated and veiled while holding a patera and sceptre, accompanied by the legend AVGVSTA MATER PATRIA(e), “Augusta Mother of the Country”. This coin, issued sometime between 21 and 30 CE, is exceptional not only on account of the distinct title, but also because the image used directly corresponds to the seated female figure issued on dupondii at Rome, which most likely commemorated Livia as priestess of the deified Augustus.⁶⁷ These coins were clearly part of a familial series issued at this city’s mint during the reign of Tiberius, which commemorated Augustus as *divus* and Tiberius as his successor.⁶⁸ The obverse of this coin of Lepcis Magna bears the portrait and titles of the emperor Tiberius, thereby explicitly communicating Livia as his mother, but also with particular emphasis given to her perceived status as the mother of the subjects of empire.

But if, as Tacitus says, Livia was denied this title by Tiberius when the Senate proposed it, why did it appear on this extraordinary coin? Grant states that this coin of Lepcis Magna was unauthorized, thus assuming that mints needed permission from Rome to issue such coins.⁶⁹ While there is some evidence on several inscriptions of provincial coinage issued by cities in Spain and Africa that permission was sought for the issuing of coins, and perhaps even particular types, coins throughout the Empire do not consistently mention this permission, although the practice may well have been observed throughout.⁷⁰ Despite the coin from Lepcis

Magna lacking an inscription granting permission, we can surmise that this coin was not necessarily issued to spurn Tiberius’s decision to deny Livia the *mater patriae* title at Rome. Angelova has proposed that Livia granted favours to this city given that several statues dedicated to her have been found there.⁷¹ There may also have been the possibility that this city’s mint may have misunderstood the news from Rome, given that this title only appears in this one instance. Regarding this coin from Lepcis Magna, Barrett states that “Although this provincial veneration was certainly not orchestrated from Rome, it doubtless reflected what was locally perceived as the wish of the emperor”.⁷² The effect of honouring and flattering the emperor and his mother would have been understood by both the designers and viewers of these coins, including the fact that this title linked Livia to Augustus as the female equivalent and counterpart to him as *pater patriae*.

That Livia may have been perceived to have been held in such high regard by the Senate was echoed on two remarkable coins: one of Smyrna that depicts the obverse portraits of the personified Senate and Livia facing each other (Chapter 3, Figure 3.12), and one from Magnesia ad Sipylum that depicts a bust of the Senate on the obverse with a reverse bust of Livia and accompanying coin legend denoting her as divine.⁷³ While these coin types do not reflect any special political partnership between Livia and the Senate, the one from Smyrna most likely commemorates a statue group that was set up by city officials to commemorate the imperial family.⁷⁴ Yet, for the Senate and Livia to be depicted side by side on these coins does encapsulate Livia’s high status and the Senate’s and imperial subjects’ perception of her as *mater patriae*.⁷⁵ In terms of the concept of heterarchy, these coins imply that Livia’s status as someone of significant power and influence was on par with that of the male-dominated Senate. While it was understood that Livia did not have the same power and influence as the Senate in reality nor in practice, in terms of her *auctoritas* or *gravitas* as mother of the subjects of empire, this image was symbolic of Livia’s *matria potestas*, “maternal power”, which was the female equivalent to the power and influence wielded by her male counterparts.

Also, during the reign of Tiberius, the extraordinary coin referring to Livia as *genetrix orbis* was issued at Colonia Romula in Spain (Figure 4.3). The obverse of this dupondius, which depicts the portrait of the deified Augustus, also contains the inscription PERM(issu) DIVI AVG(usti) COL(onlia) ROM(ula), which referred to the colony’s imperial permission to issue coins, including this type. The phenomenal reverse type depicts the head of Livia set upon a globe wearing the laurel crown, a crescent moon atop her head, surrounded by the legend IVLIA AVGVSTA GENETRIX ORBIS, “Julia Augusta Mother (or Foundress) of the World”.⁷⁶ An inscription found at Anticaria in Baetica also refers to Livia as *genetrix orbis*,⁷⁷ indicating that the message was shared across diverse media. The obverse of the coin shows the portrait of Augustus radiate along with the attribute of the star atop his head and a thunderbolt before him, both clear symbols of his divinity and his association with Sol/Apollo, as well as Jupiter. Interestingly, Augustus is not referred to on the coin’s obverse legend as *progenitor orbis*, “founder of the world”, as one might expect given Livia’s accolade as *genetrix*



Figure 4.3 AE Dupondius from Colonia Romula (Spain) with portrait of Divus Augustus on the obverse and of Livia on the reverse accompanied by the legend IVLIA AVGVSTA GENETRIX ORBIS. Undated, reign of Tiberius. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

orbis on the reverse.⁷⁸ But, there is clear reference to his godly status in the coin's obverse legend referring to him as *divus*. On the reverse, Livia is represented with the crescent moon of Luna/Diana, which can also be connected to Juno.⁷⁹ She also wears a laurel crown upon her head, the significance of which will be discussed further.

But this coin, while as unique as the *mater patriae* coin of Lepcis Magna, is significant because of the perceived status it bestowed on Livia in comparison to her male relatives by taking the notion of Livia as “mother of empire” to a whole new divine level that was intimately connected to the divinity of Augustus and to her additional role as the priestess of his cult. The allusion to Sol and Luna marks Augustus and Livia as divine counterparts. The familial connection between them is emphasized through Apollo and Diana, and there is even a reference to Augustus and Livia as Jupiter and Juno, a concept that is also referred to in literary texts. For example, Ovid in his *Fasti* stated that Livia alone is worthy to share the couch of Jove.⁸⁰ Even more compelling regarding the significance of this coin is the passage from Ovid's *Ex Ponto* addressed to his wife that encapsulates the imagery contained in this coin: Livia has the beauty of Venus and the morals of Juno and is alone worthy of the celestial couch.⁸¹ The globe and the title *genetrix orbis* on the Colonia Romula coin also have celestial connotations that link Livia to Cybele, Magna Mater and Dea Caelestis, further bolstering the divine significance of Livia and her perceived role as mother of all.⁸² Additionally, the title *genetrix* ties Livia directly to the divine ancestress of the *gens Iulia*, Venus Genetrix,⁸³ who was celebrated in the famous temple dedicated to her in the Forum of Julius Caesar, as well as her representation

in the form of a cult statue in the Temple of Mars Ultor in Augustus’s Forum. Despite the apparent anomaly of this coin, the viewer would not have been lost on the significance of the imagery, given that the themes have been picked up in the literary sources as well as the visual.

Exceptional symbolism on coins of Livia

The dupondius of Colonia Romula demonstrates the extent to which the subjects of empire desired to acknowledge Livia’s unprecedented status as wife and mother of Rome’s first emperors, and as their imperial *materfamilias* alongside the ruling emperor. The attributes of Livia presented on this coin also highlights the diversity of symbols used by those creating these coin designs of Livia to capture her persona as they perceived it to be. Other iconographic symbols associated with Livia’s image on coins of the provinces lends further strength to the complex visual dialogue pertaining to Livia generated by coins. These symbols included attributes such as the crowns of the stephane and the laurel, as well as the image of the Capricorn which make clear Livia’s place as counterpart of Augustus and priestess of his deified person, and as mother of the ruling emperor. While Livia does not appear extensively with these symbols in coin types, they are nonetheless significant due to their appearance in representations of her in sculpture and cameos as well.

The stephane was an exclusively female form of adornment, which hearkened back to Hellenistic queens and even had divine connotations, originally having been an iconographical attribute of goddesses such as Hera/Juno, Demeter/Ceres and Aphrodite/Venus. The presence of such divine attributes in Livia’s visual programme was undoubtedly intended to link the goddess’s role as mother (Juno as a mother goddess linked to matrons and motherhood, and Venus as mother of the *gens Iulia*) with Livia’s role as mother of the imperial family. Livia’s sculptural portraits began featuring the stephane only quite late in Tiberius’s reign and most likely after Livia’s death in 29 CE. Most of these portraits of Livia adorned with a stephane have been dated to the reign of the emperor Claudius, Livia’s grandson, who deified her in 42 CE.⁸⁴ Given the rather late appearance of this attribute in the sculptural medium, it perhaps implied Livia’s recent deified status. Yet, at the same time the image of Livia with stephane strongly resembles the Iustitia coin type issued at Rome (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.4) as part of the series that also included the Salus dupondius of Livia. But the attribute appears on coin images of Livia from the provinces prior to her deification. The first promising example can be found on a bronze as issued by the Thessalian League mint during the reign of Augustus, which features Augustus on the obverse and Livia on the reverse possibly wearing a stephane along with the title HPA ΛΕΙΟΥΙΑ, which makes the divine association rather obvious.⁸⁵ Another significant candidate is the coin from Smyrna dating to c. 29– 35 CE (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.12), which features a portrait of Livia wearing the stephane and facing a portrait of the personified Senate. There is no doubt that

the female portrait here is that of Livia given the identifying legend CEBACTH. Coins from Macedonia dating to the reign of Tiberius, including the mints of Pella-Dium and Thessalonica, depict Livia with an ornate stephane.⁸⁶ Another example from the Koinon of Crete (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.13) again highly resembles the Roman Iustitia prototype, but here the text of the coin refers to Livia more directly as ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. This coin in fact dates to the reign of Claudius, c. 41–43 CE, in the years shortly after Livia’s deification.

If the stephane was incorporated into Livia’s visual programme as a symbol of Livia’s role as mother and associated divine status, the presence of Livia with the laurel crown in various media set her apart from other elite Roman women as mother of Rome’s ruling imperial family, perhaps even having connotations of Livia as *femina princeps*. Interestingly, literary sources tell us that the laurel came to be associated with Livia in a very direct way. Three separate ancient authors recount a famous omen that befell Livia shortly after her marriage to Augustus in which an eagle carrying a white hen with a sprig of laurel in its beak dropped the bird unharmed into Livia’s lap.⁸⁷ Livia planted the laurel sprig which grew into a grove and became the source of laurels carried by all Julio-Claudian triumphators – the crown worn by men known as the *corona triumphalis*.⁸⁸ While this grove planted by Livia became a symbol of the military might and political dominance of the male members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, it also symbolized the prominent socio-political role played by female members of the imperial family with regard to fertility and the perpetuation of dynasty. It comes as no surprise that images of the laurel tree also were used to decorate the frescoes of the Garden Room at Livia’s Villa *ad Gallinas*.⁸⁹ As part of Livia’s visual programme, the laurel crown was employed to associate Livia with the mother and founder of the *gens Iulia*, Venus Genetrix, through their shared iconography. The presence of this attribute in the iconography of Venus is attested in Republican coinage,⁹⁰ although the goddess is more commonly seen wearing the stephane.

The fact that Livia is seen wearing the laurel in coins and other media marks her as the mother figure, or *genetrix*, of the ruling imperial family and dynasty. The association between Livia, Venus and the laurel crown is nowhere more strongly attested than in the dupondius issued at Colonia Romula in Spain during the reign of Tiberius already mentioned earlier. Livia’s role as mother of all is also reinforced through her depiction on the Ara Pacis Augustae where she is the first female situated behind Augustus.⁹¹ Here too, she wears the laurel crown (as do other male and female imperial family members) thereby making the intimate connection between Livia’s role as mother and the perpetuation of both the dynasty and the state. Another sculptural example attributed to Rome (Figure 4.4) and dating to late Augustan or early Tiberian times depicts Livia with a laurel crown and veiled head.⁹² Examples of cameos with Livia’s laureate portrait date to roughly the same time period.⁹³ Particularly noteworthy is the turquoise cameo portrait of Livia and a male figure from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, also known as the Marlborough Cameo (Figure 4.5). Flory argues that there is “virtually no question



Figure 4.4 Sculptural portrait of Livia wearing a laurel crown and veil. Provenance unknown. Currently in Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano. Late Augustan or early Tiberian date. D-DAI-ROM-78.69.

that the woman is Livia in the guise of Venus Genetrix”.⁹⁴ The cameo shows Livia on the right wearing a chiton that slips off her left shoulder, a hairstyle similar to that worn by the goddess Venus and crowned with the laurel. The male figure, who has been identified variably as one of Livia’s sons either Tiberius or Drusus, is reduced in size and also wears a crown interpreted by Flory as an oak wreath or *corona civica*.⁹⁵ If the wreath worn by the male figure is oak then identification with Augustus is most plausible and recalls his status *pater patriae*, while Livia is in the guise of the mother goddess Venus. The symbolism is clear in the iconography not only of the laurel wreath, but also in the hairstyle and dress of the female figure, which equates Livia to the founding divine ancestress of the *gens Iulia* and marks her not only as mother and first female of the imperial family, but also of the subjects of empire.

Flory’s study on the significance of the laurel, in particular as it pertains to imperial women, has noted that some scholars have made the argument that the laurel was not appropriate for use in the representation of female imperial family



Figure 4.5 Turquoise cameo of bust of Livia wearing laurel crown and with bust of small male companion on her right. Augustan period, c. 9 BCE. Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

members.⁹⁶ One example pertains to a bronze coin issued in Thessalonica around 22–23 CE (Figure 4.6) which depicts Livia laureate on the reverse, and which Gross considers to be an error on the part of the die engraver given that Tiberius does not wear one on the obverse of that coin.⁹⁷ The argument that the presence of the laurel in Livia’s coin portraits is an error is fraught with problems on a number of levels. First of all, if the die engraver was simply being careless, why would he have taken the time to add the laurel crown to Livia’s portrait, especially when the portrait type he used already had an established prototype issued by the imperial mint of Rome in 22–23 CE that was *sine laurea* (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.1)? In addition, it is generally accepted among scholars that images of imperial family members produced in the provinces, whether in sculpture or on coins, were based on models commissioned by those close to the imperial family in Rome.⁹⁸ Another example of Livia with the laurel can be found on a coin of Aphrodisias-Plarasa (Figure 4.7) bearing the obverse jugate portraits of Tiberius and Livia both laureate, which further supports that the presence of this attribute in female portraits was not unintentional. In another example, while Livia is not wearing the laurel,



Figure 4.6 AE 22mm coin from Thessalonica (Macedonia) with portrait of Livia wearing a laurel crown on the reverse. Undated, reign of Tiberius. Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 4.7 AE 19mm coin from Aphrodisias-Plarasa (Asia) with obverse jugate portraits of Tiberius and Livia each wearing a laurel crown. c. 14–29 CE. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

a laurel wreath may also be found above the seated figure of Livia on an as of Rome issued early in the reign of Tiberius.⁹⁹ The sculptural types of Livia with the laurel likely had been introduced under Augustus and continued under Tiberius. These models heavily inspired and set the standard of style and taste for those produced in the provinces.¹⁰⁰ However, such images also could be modified to

reflect local tastes and ideals; it is misleading to state that such modifications were misinterpretations of the image prototypes that originated from Rome. While the laurel crown may have been incorporated more often into the portraits of male imperial family members, as evidence from coins and sculpture clearly shows, its seemingly sparse presence in the portraits of imperial women does not imply that it was not appropriate for use in female portraits. Its very presence in female portraits in a variety of media, in particular the fact that Livia wears this attribute in sculpture, coins and cameos,¹⁰¹ indicates that it bore special significance that was peculiar to women.

The use of the laurel in both male and female imperial portraits spoke volumes not only about the relations between men and women in the imperial family, but also how the status and gender roles of the two intersected in order to convey a message regarding the power and position of the imperial family. The associations between Augustus, Apollo and the laurel are well documented in literary sources, as well as Augustan art and coins, and it became a symbol of Augustus's victories over Antony and Cleopatra at Actium and the peace and prosperity that ensued.¹⁰² For male imperial family members, the laurel had come to symbolize victory in war, as well as peace and the military prowess of male imperial family members in accomplishing these things under the auspices of the god Apollo.¹⁰³ Flory rightly argues that the appearance of the laurel crown in portraits of Julio-Claudian women, especially cameo ones, marks a new interest in the laurel which developed during the Augustan period.¹⁰⁴ The incorporation of the laurel into the iconography of female imperial family members seems to have begun with Livia and highlights the extent to which she was being depicted as more than the quintessential mother. As seen in cameo examples, the laurel could also be combined with ears of grain and poppies, symbols of the fertility goddess Ceres, which equated the laurel with the empress's *fecunditas* and maternal roles.¹⁰⁵ Varner notes that although Livia's images are not overtly masculinized, they are at times imbued with masculine attributes such as the laurel. He also points out in this work that images of the emperor could even be imbued with female attributes from time to time.¹⁰⁶ Herein lies a clear example of heterarchy at play, whereby Livia's position as mother and its socio-political ideology regarding the imperial family is strengthened by imbuing her image with a masculinizing symbol. The symbol of the laurel reflected the power, stability and success of the state which was the result of intersecting socio-political and religious roles played by both male and female members of the ruling imperial family, especially through Livia who embodied the domestic stability and well-being of the imperial state and family. In addition, the fact that Livia was the first imperial female figure to wear the laurel, and to be seen with it virtually exclusive to other imperial women such as Augustus's daughter Julia and in more than one instance and in multiple media, gives further weight to Livia's status as *femina princeps* during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Given that the image of Livia with the laurel seems to be more

prominent during the reign of her son Tiberius, it can be argued that the laurel also served as a mark of Livia’s official membership into the *gens Iulia* as signalled by her adoption into it as per Augustus’s will, as well as her position as priestess of the deified Augustus.¹⁰⁷

As has already been shown in Chapter 3 and earlier in the present chapter, there are numerous numismatic instances where Livia is presented alongside Augustus whether jugate with him or on the reverse complementing his image on the obverse, which undoubtedly acknowledged her high status within the *Domus Augusti* as his partner in ensuring the survival of the dynasty. Although exceedingly rare, there are a few instances where Livia is seen with symbols of Augustus’s authority and power over the world, including the Capricorn and globe. The intended message behind these coins was not necessarily to imply that Livia had a power and influence on par with that of Augustus. Rather such symbols were a further means to highlight the importance of her relationship to him as his wife, but more importantly they further reinforced her status as mother of all, as well her position as the priestess of the deified Augustus to which she was appointed upon his death. These coins include the reverse of a coin of King Rhoemetals I of Thrace dated to c. 11 BCE to 12 CE (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.8) which shows the portraits of Livia and Augustus jugate with a Capricorn with globe before them in the right field, an exceptional coin from Augusta in Syria dated to after 20 CE with Livia’s portrait on the obverse and the Capricorn with globe and star above on the reverse, as well as the Colonia Romula coin with Livia’s portrait on globe already mentioned.

The Capricorn, which was also featured on Augustus’s coinage, recalled the astrological sign under which he was conceived.¹⁰⁸ This symbol, which reflected Augustus’s deep interest in astrological matters, signified that his own conception under it was an act of divine providence.¹⁰⁹ The Capricorn and its attributes, the rudder and globe, represent the view that the gods had predestined Augustus as a world ruler,¹¹⁰ the globe symbolizing the world, the rudder Augustus’s governance over it. Augustus issued aurei and denarii at the mint of Rome bearing the Capricorn sometime between 18 and 17 BCE,¹¹¹ with local mints of the provinces copying this type as well because of the “importance attached to it by Augustus”.¹¹² While Livia is seen alongside this Capricorn image on two examples, Augustus’s grandsons and heirs Gaius and Lucius also appeared with the Capricorn reverse on bronze coins of Tralles in Asia dating to c. 2 BCE.¹¹³ The use of the Capricorn on these coins of Gaius and Lucius clearly linked the boys with Augustus and sent a clear dynastic message. On this same note, the Capricorn and globe seen with the jugate portraits of Augustus and Livia on the reverse of the coin of Rhoemetals I may have also implied this dynastic message, but certainly appealed to the symbol that was important to Augustus and that he identified his power with. Other bronze coins were issued by Rhoemetals I which featured the Capricorn without portraits, as well as the portrait of Augustus alone with the Capricorn in front.¹¹⁴



Figure 4.8 AE 17mm coin from Augusta (Syria) with portrait of Livia on the obverse and Capricorn with globe and star above on the reverse. After 20 CE. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

A bronze coin issued by the city of Augusta in Syria is especially significant with respect to Livia and her association with the symbol of the Capricorn (Figure 4.8). Not only was this city renamed “Augusta” after Livia around 20 CE, but the use of the Capricorn alongside her image gave the empress an explicit connection to Augustus. The appearance of the Capricorn on sestertii of Rome issued after Augustus’s death and deification reiterated the Capricorn as a symbol of his divinity.¹¹⁵ The bronze coin of Augusta was issued likely sometime after the city was renamed for Livia and bears the draped portrait of Livia on the obverse while the reverse sports the Capricorn with a globe and a star above along with the legend ΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΑΝΩΝ. The star above the Capricorn refers to the divinity of Augustus and it is likely that this coin not only commemorated Livia as the wife (now widow) of the emperor Augustus, but also her status as priestess of the deified Augustus. Interestingly, bronze coins of Panormous in Sicily also appear to commemorate Livia’s prominent place as priestess and as the most prominent female in the imperial family. Likely issued at the same time, one coin features the obverse portrait of Augustus radiate with a Capricorn on the reverse, while another shows Livia on the obverse seated holding patera and sceptre, clearly recalling the seated female figure type issued at Rome under Tiberius and interpreted as Livia in her role as priestess of the deified Augustus.¹¹⁶ While the Capricorn cannot be considered a prominent symbol for Livia, the fact that she is seen with it in a couple of instances is not only exceptional, but also noteworthy in its significance regarding the *gravitas* it gave to Livia’s image and status as *femina princeps*. In addition, an infusion of the Capricorn’s image with Livia’s can be seen in the globe, found at the base of the neck in Livia’s portrait on the reverse of the *genetrix orbis* coin of Colonia Romula in Spain.

Livia's divinity as exceptional accolade

The opening of this chapter introduced you to the concept of heterarchy as a means of explaining the unprecedented position Livia held in Roman imperial society in relation to her male counterparts. The numismatic, historical and art historical evidence presented thus far has shown that Livia was commemorated to a level yet unseen for a Roman woman giving her unprecedented status, and that she had more influence than most men with the exception of the emperor. Livia lived at the dawn of Roman imperial rule as established by her husband the emperor Augustus. Her newly coined position as mother of the Empire and its communication in visual media was being designed and orchestrated to promote the ideologies of the imperial regime. One element of Livia's persona was akin to the divine, as was Augustus's, but there are aspects of Livia's divine commemoration that were distinct to her as wife and mother of emperors, and in contrast with those of her male counterparts. Particularly intriguing are the instances where Livia is referred to as divine on coins and inscriptions where the emperor is seemingly less so. Livia's divine accolades and associations with key goddesses, especially while she was alive but also after her death and deification, provide the perfect scenario by which to demonstrate and examine the concept of heterarchy in action, and what this can tell us about Livia's gender roles, power and status in relation to her male relatives.

The many associations between Livia and various goddesses (Juno, Ceres and Venus) in multiple media, manifestly apparent throughout the Roman Empire has been outlined in Chapter 3. Such associations undoubtedly linked Livia with the divine, along with her various gender roles, many of which were epitomized in the social and religious ideology surrounding these motherly female deities. In addition to being called Juno or Ceres, Livia was also given the epithet *θεά* (divine) on coins issued at several mints of the Hellenistic Greek East provinces of the Roman Empire, which will be the focus of the remainder of this section. The first instance of Livia as *diva* on coins in Rome did not occur until Livia's deification under the reign of Claudius. Yet surprisingly, the diversity and regularity of her appearance with divine attributes on coins seems to be in contrast with those of her male counterparts. Burnett has noticed this peculiarity as well, noting that only very occasionally is Augustus referred to as *θεός* in coin legends or shown with a divine attribute such as the *aegis* (breastplate of Zeus/Athena), while female members of imperial families are at times called *θεά* and are shown with the attributes of a variety of goddesses.¹¹⁷ Brännstedt has also noted a desire to subdue Augustus's and Tiberius's associations with the divine in contrast to Livia's.¹¹⁸ This begs the question of whether Livia was given special divine accolades distinct from male imperial family members, Augustus and Tiberius, and whether this was exceptional. If such exceptional treatment was bestowed upon Livia and promoted on coins, what was the purpose behind it and what does it tell us about how Livia was perceived by the subjects of the Roman Empire? What does this tell us about Livia's power and status and how this may have been used to promote the imperial regime and her male relatives within it?

To answer these questions, we must first assess the degree to which this phenomenon was occurring with respect to Livia’s, and the emperors’, representations and associations with the divine on coins. A good starting point are the examples of coins that present both Livia and the ruling emperor, pre-deification, on the same coin each with divine epithets. A coin from the Thessalian League issued during the reign of Augustus depicts on its obverse the head of Augustus bare with the legend ΘΕΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, while the reverse bears the head of Livia and the legend ΗΡΑ ΛΕΙΟΫΙΑ associating her with Hera, wife of Zeus.¹¹⁹ This appears to be the only instance where this occurs with Augustus and Livia together. It is interesting to note that Augustus is referred to as divine, but is not directly assimilated to any particular god, especially Zeus as we might expect in this case. There is also only one instance in which Tiberius and Livia appear together as divine on a coin of Mytilene where they are referred to as ΘΕΟC and ΘΕΑ respectively.¹²⁰ In this case, there are no divine attributes connecting either individual to any deity.

Other coins of Augustus and Livia as divine were issued during the reign of Tiberius after Augustus’s death and deification. These coins commemorate Livia as divine alongside her deified husband, but the dates of the coins are unclear; they could have been issued either before or after Livia’s death in 29 CE. A bronze coin of Mopsus in Syria attributed to the reign of Tiberius features on its obverse Augustus with radiate portrait and the title ΘΕΟC CEB(αστος), while the reverse depicts Livia’s draped bust and the accompanying title ΘΕΑ CEBΑCΘΗ.¹²¹ Similarly, an impressive silver coin from Byzantium issued under Tiberius (Figure 4.9) commemorates Augustus wearing a radiate on the obverse, while Livia is presented also as divine on the reverse, each with their respective divine titles in Greek.¹²² These coins were likely issued to celebrate Augustus and Livia as the ruling emperor’s divine parents, and anticipated Livia’s eventual deification upon her death, even though this honour was denied to her by her son Tiberius.



Figure 4.9 AR Didrachm from Byzantium (Thrace) with portrait of Divus Augustus on the obverse and Livia as divine on the reverse. c. 20s CE. © Trustees of the British Museum.

What is particularly intriguing regarding Livia’s divine status on coins are the instances where Livia is referred to as divine (θεά) or associated with particular goddesses where her ruling husband and son are not. The number of examples is not extensive, but these occurrences nonetheless warrant consideration. There were three examples produced during Augustus’s reign and two during Tiberius’s, all of which come from mints in the Greek East. A bronze coin of Methymna on Lesbos presents the bare head of Augustus on the obverse and refers to him as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ, while the reverse shows Livia’s portrait and the legend ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ.¹²³ A coin of the Asian city of Clazomenae has Augustus’s laureate portrait on the obverse but does not identify him directly by name, while Livia’s reverse portrait once again is labeled ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ.¹²⁴ Another from Thessalonica, perhaps the earliest dating to around 20 BCE, depicts Livia alone on the obverse with no accompanying male counterpart on either the obverse or the reverse, and the identifying legend ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ.¹²⁵ Other coins from these mints bear the portraits of Augustus, as well as some with portraits of Augustus’s grandsons Gaius and Lucius, but none of them refer to these male imperial family members as divine, nor do divine attributes or appellations of any god accompany them. One possible exception may be a coin of Augustus from Clazomenae, which shows a star alongside his obverse portrait, a probable reference to his deified father Julius Caesar.¹²⁶

The coins from the reign of Tiberius were issued at Amphipolis in Macedonia (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.5) and Magnesia ad Sipylum in Asia (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.5). The former example presents Livia with head veiled on the obverse along with the legend ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΑ and no accompanying male represented on the reverse, while the latter shows the draped bust of Livia on the reverse with the legend ΘΕΑΝ ΚΕΒΑΚΤΗΝ, but accompanied by the obverse portrait of the personified Senate who is depicted as male.¹²⁷ Again, the coins at neither of these mints refer to Tiberius as divine nor associate him with any particular deities. The mint at Magnesia ad Sipylum also issued a coin with the obverse portrait of the personified Senate along with a legend referring to him as divine, whereas the accompanying reverse portrait of Livia does not.¹²⁸

Five coins where Livia is referred to as divine (θεά) on her own, and most likely issued before her death and deification, may seem insignificant when you compare them to the number of examples where the ruling emperor is referred to as the equivalent θεός. For Augustus there are three or four examples including one from Cydonia on Crete, a couple from the Kingdom of Armenia, and another from an uncertain mint.¹²⁹ For Tiberius, I could find no such examples. The divinity of the emperor Augustus prior to his deification was bound not so much in the overt expression θεός but rather was contained in other symbols such as the Capricorn, and those of the gods Jupiter/Jesus and Apollo. The discussion earlier remarked on the Capricorn as symbolic of Augustus’s power and that his rule was prophesied under this sign. But, this symbol also branded Augustus’s rule as divinely ordained, and in turn proclaimed the emperor as divine figurehead of the Empire. The Capricorn became a hallmark of Augustus’s rule and his divinity.¹³⁰

Coins with the Capricorn symbol alongside Augustus were issued not only at Rome, but also at no less than a dozen provincial mints.¹³¹ And while the emperors Augustus and Tiberius were not associated with deities directly by name as Livia was to Hera/Juno and Ceres, the symbolic attributes of the gods Jupiter/Jupiter and Apollo in connection with the emperor were present on coins of Rome and the provinces. The Jovian symbols of thunderbolt, eagle and oak wreath were prominent on Augustan coins, as well as the symbols of the laurel, lyre and tripod of the god Apollo.¹³² The god Apollo also appeared on several coins of Augustus issued at the mint of Rome.¹³³

A distinction can be made between the manner in which Livia is referred to as *θεά* on coins, which seems to be only slightly more than her male counterparts, and her associations with goddesses directly by name, which does not occur at all for her male counterparts on coins. On the surface, there does appear to be a desire to subdue associations of male imperial family members with the divine. One possible explanation for the subdued divine symbolism for Augustus on provincial coins is that the mint officials were following the pattern of the imperial coins from Rome which sought to avoid the overt association of the emperor as divine.¹³⁴ However, this does not explain the portrayal of Livia as divine on the coins of the eastern Greek provinces and is especially puzzling given that there is very little surviving evidence for the depiction of Livia on the coins of Rome during Augustus's or Tiberius's reigns. Associations of Livia with the divine are markedly absent on the coins of Rome issued during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius.¹³⁵ One notable exception is the association between Livia and the personification of Salus on the dupondius of 22–23 CE. Without a Roman example to follow, other than the few images of Livia produced on coins of the mint of Rome that do not name her directly, what prompted the development and issue of such types elevating Livia to a uniquely divine status in the provinces? Interestingly, the tradition in the east of honouring Roman officials by revering them as gods or promoting their divine associations was well established by the reign of Augustus, and as attention was focused increasingly on the ruling *Domus Augusta*, it was inevitable that similar honours would be accorded female members of the imperial family.¹³⁶ Also, it is well known that the eastern provinces desired to worship Augustus as a god, but that he strictly forbade it for Romans living there and only allowed locals to worship him in association with Roma, the female personification of the state.¹³⁷ Thus, he avoided any possible suggestion that he might be a king and his regime a monarchy, having learned well from the assassination of Caesar the consequences of such perceptions. Given the emperor's feelings regarding his own divinity, the mint magistrates of eastern cities likely decided to honour the emperor's divinity indirectly through the promotion of his wife as divine. Thus, female imperial family members became appropriate vehicles for bestowing these divine accolades on the emperor and other male imperial family members without directly referring to them as divine.

A further explanation, which has been presented by Brännstedt, was that the divinity of the emperors Augustus and Tiberius was already implied, “. . . and

this could explain why Livia was more frequently linked with various deities, or referred to as divine”.¹³⁸ Such implied divinity for emperors can certainly be gleaned from Augustus’s frequent association with Capricorn on coins empire-wide, as well as the presence of the images and symbols of key gods such as Jupiter/Jupiter and Apollo. Perhaps more so the case is that the presentation of Livia with divine appellations on coins and inscriptions is evidence of desire on the part of magistrates in the provinces of the eastern Empire to honour Livia, whilst at the same time endeavoring to define and understand her unprecedented position within the context of their own traditions for honouring “royal” women. The use of coin types issued by the mint of Rome, such as the seated female figure and the Livia as Salus type both issued under Tiberius, reveals a desire to look to Rome for guidance when representing Livia. But, the lack of these models under Augustus provided some experimental liberties to provincial magistrates in designing appropriate representations of Livia on coins. There may have also been a desire to connect the imperial family, including female members, to local deities and their cults. Brännstedt has noticed that this appears to have been the case with both coins and inscriptions pertaining to Livia, and that such associations lent status to the empress and tied her more closely with the local community.¹³⁹ Angelova has remarked on this as well, and cites several local city cults in the eastern provinces that worshipped Livia alongside the founding/patron goddesses of these cities.¹⁴⁰

While there are several theories as to why Livia was granted such divine accolades on coins issued in the provinces, further explanation is needed as to the significance of this phenomenon in relation to Livia’s gender-infused position and power in relation to her male relatives for which the theory of heterarchy provides a helpful point of departure. The evidence presented here regarding Livia’s divinity on coins still leaves us with some important questions: Did such images of Livia as divine provide Livia with power and influence that enhanced her position and redefined her gender? Do these coins have any bearing on the reality of Livia’s power and influence, or rather were they simply tools for further reinforcing the power and influence of the emperor and the ruling imperial regime? If we look at these divine accolades for Livia on coins as part of the fabric or meshwork of social variables inherent in heterarchy, we come to understand that while Livia had no official power or position in the political sense of the ruling imperial regime, her image as divine female mother figure became part of the ideology used to promote that regime. The emperor was undeniably seen as the leader and *paterfamilias* of the *Domus Augusta* that was the Roman Empire, and in tandem Livia was perceived as an important figure who symbolized the prosperity, security and stability of that institution in the dynastic sense. Therefore, her image imbued with divine symbols and associations, became a tool for promoting the emperor and the imperial family as being under the divine protection of “mother goddesses”, whose qualities Livia appeared to represent and perhaps even possess. While such numismatic messages regarding Livia supported and promoted the rule of her husband and son as emperors, these images

in turn imbued Livia with a status not before held by a Roman woman. Scheer has noted that under Augustus and his successors, the concept of motherhood came to be recognized as a means of exercising female authority as a facet of imperial power.¹⁴¹ The authors of the coin images of Livia in the eastern Greek provinces saw Rome's first empress as a divine progenitor and protectress of the state, and through this image these provincial magistrates sought favour from their Roman rulers. Although the mint of Rome, and the emperor as authority over it, did not want to refer to Livia as divine during her lifetime, they were able to achieve the same effect as the coins of the east through indirect associations between Livia and the goddess who protected the hearth fire of Rome, and in turn the imperial *Domus Augusta*, Vesta.

Livia as priestess and associations with Vesta

Upon the death and deification of the emperor Augustus in 14 CE Livia was made *sacerdos* (priestess) of the newly founded cult of *Divus Augustus*, an appointment which was revolutionary in terms of the officially public role and status it gave the empress.¹⁴² Defining Livia's unprecedented status required linking her to an institution with established religious precedent and clearly defined public roles: the Vestal Virgins.¹⁴³ Livia's new position and very public role was further solidified within the state when she was granted a *lictor*, a guardian and attendant of a public magistrate, a privilege that had also been granted to the Vestal priestesses by the Senate in 42 BCE.¹⁴⁴ Livia's position as *sacerdos divi Augusti* was commemorated in sculpture (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.15), cameos (Figure 4.10), and coins. The manner in which this particular role is portrayed on coins is through the depiction of Livia seated and veiled, as well as portrait busts of Livia with head veiled. Occasionally, associations of Livia with Vesta (goddess of the hearth) and Pietas (personification of religious devotion to state and family) also aid in communicating the ideal of Livia's devotion not only to her priestly office, but also to her family and the state. The coins were designed to promote the newly established cult of the deified Augustus, as well as the new *Domus Augusta* which included father Divus Augustus, Livia as the god's priestess and mother of the new *princeps*, and Tiberius, their son.

The status of the Vestal Virgins and Livia's apparent connection to them has special significance in terms of female gender and power within Roman society. Roman perceptions of power can be found in the manner in which Romans defined and promoted gender roles through various media, both visual and literary. For men and women, particularly those of Roman citizen status, efforts were made to define and enforce male and female gender roles both in legal terms and through dress codes.¹⁴⁵ However, in Roman society as in modern, the boundaries of biologically-based sex/gender roles and categories could be blurred depending on the particular social and/or religious context in which a specific gender role was applied. A case in point can be seen in Rome's Vestal Virgins, priestesses of one of Rome's most important state cults, the cult of Vesta.¹⁴⁶ The Vestal



Figure 4.10 Sardonyx Cameo with Livia seated on a throne and wearing a mural crown and veil. She holds a small bust of Divus Augustus in one hand and ears of grain in the other. Early Tiberian date (shortly after 14 CE). Currently in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Courtesy of Art Resource, NY.

priestesses were set apart from other Roman citizen men and women in both religious and legal terms, and by their distinctive dress.¹⁴⁷ While biologically female, the Vestal priestesses asserted a status according to gender roles that blurred the lines of the male-female dichotomy, a mix of male and female categories that served as markers of their sacred status.¹⁴⁸

The Vestals' virginal/sexual purity and distinctive dress echoed that of chaste maidens and matrons, while the privilege of having lictors (the body guards of Roman magistrates) and seats with the senators at the games added a masculine

dimension to their position.¹⁴⁹ Even more potent was the equating of Vesta's hearth fire, which the Vestals tended, not only with the sacred purity of the Vestals' virginity, but also with male procreative power, which the Roman author Varro considered the symbolic equivalent of semen.¹⁵⁰ Here, the Vestal Virgins' position and status in society was the result of the fusion of traditionally male gender roles with female ones, in order to create a hybrid gender category. In other words, separate gender categories were created for specific gender groups who performed socio-political and religious roles important to society. As shall be seen, a similar blurring of gender categories/roles can be found in some of the coin images of Livia. We have seen examples of this already in the coins where Livia is associated with symbols such as the Capricorn and globe, which were symbols of Augustus's power and the divinity by which it was granted. Connections between Livia and the gender and social status of the Vestal Virgins further reinforced Livia's own power and influence in Roman imperial society, and even prompted Ovid to refer to Livia as the “Vesta of the chaste matrons”.¹⁵¹

Livia's seated figure and associations with Vesta

Chapter 2 effectively mapped out the image elements that comprised the overall composition of Livia's representation as seated female figure and it was noted there that the most common visual attributes accompanying this image type of Livia were the sceptre, patera and the palla that veiled her head. A comparison of Livia's seated images on coins and in sculpture reveal a closely shared iconography with the goddess Vesta, which in essence links Livia's roles as priestess and mother with that of Vesta and her Vestal Virgin priestesses. A relief on the Sorrento Base dating to the early 1st century CE shows Vesta seated on a throne with her head veiled and possibly holding a patera (worn) in her right hand.¹⁵² The veil worn by Vesta and her priestesses is symbolic of their piety to Rome, which is further denoted by the patera, or offering bowl, used in conducting religious rituals. The veil was also associated with the Vestals' role as matronly and motherly figures.¹⁵³ These same attributes are repeated in an impressive marble relief sculpture dedicated to Vesta by one of the bakers of Rome c. 140–150 CE now in the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (Figure 4.11). The sculpture shows Vesta seated on a throne or high back chair holding a patera in her right hand and a sceptre in her left.¹⁵⁴ The attributes that this seated figure holds, as well as the one on the Sorrento base, suggests a clear link with the seated figure of Livia on Tiberian asses and thus an association with the highly respected and ancient institution of the Vestals. Such iconography is consistent with the reverse of an as issued in Rome under the emperor Caligula in c. 37–40 CE (Figure 4.12),¹⁵⁵ which depicts Vesta seated on a throne facing left, holding the patera in her right hand and sceptre in her left, just as Livia does in her seated representations on coins. In fact, the origins for this seated configuration of Vesta and her priestesses can also be found in aurei and denarii on the



Figure. 4.11 Relief sculpture from Rome of Vesta seated holding patera before snake in one hand and sceptre in the other. Grain measure and loaf of bread beside throne. c. 140–150 CE. Currently in Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen. Courtesy of Art Resource, NY.

moneyer C. Clodius c.f. Vestalis of 41 BCE, which depicts the Vestal priestess Claudia, daughter of Ap. Claudius Pulcher, on the reverses.¹⁵⁶

The connection between Livia and the goddess Vesta had been developing since the reign of Augustus who made a consistent effort to link his family and his rule with Vesta and her cult given the goddess's role as protector and guardian of the state, a pursuit that continued under Augustus's successors.¹⁵⁷ Under Tiberius, Livia's position as *sacerdos divi Augusti* was promoted further through the issue of a special sestertius at Rome in 22–23 CE (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.6), the same



Figure. 4.12 AE As from Rome with reverse of Vesta seated on an ornate throne holding patera and sceptre. c. 37–41 CE. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

year that the *Salus*, *Pietas* and *Iustitia* series dupondii were issued. The obverse of the coin depicts a *carpentum* (ornate, mule drawn carriage) and the inscription *S P Q R IVLIAE AVGVSTAE*, “the Senate and People of Rome to Julia Augusta”, which was the first direct reference to Livia by name ever made on a coin of Rome. Severy rightly points out that this coin marked “. . . the first time a coin type featured a female-gendered image such as the *carpentum* to celebrate a woman’s role in the public sphere”.¹⁵⁸ The *SPQR* legend credits the Senate and people of Rome with the bestowal of this honour upon Livia.¹⁵⁹ Once again, some scholars argue that the type may refer to celebrations of thanksgiving held in honour of Livia’s recovery from illness,¹⁶⁰ but it may also refer to the occasion upon which Livia received the right to sit among the Vestals in the theatre.¹⁶¹ But in fact, she was most likely granted permission to travel within the city by *carpentum* at this time (22 CE), a privilege also held by Vestals, and which emphasized Livia’s connection to them in a very direct way.¹⁶² Although Livia was not a Vestal priestess, the honour of the *carpentum* endowed Livia, as priestess of the deified Augustus, with a status comparable to the Vestals and which superseded that of all other Roman women and most Roman men.

Recent studies on the aforementioned Sorrento Relief reveal that the connection between Livia, Vesta, the Vestal Virgins and her position as the priestess of the deified Augustus is even more direct. This lends further authority to the identification of the seated female figure on Tiberius’s aes coinage of 15–16 CE as Livia. Lindner and Thompson argue that a reconstruction of side A of the relief, which includes the figure of Augustus standing before Vesta, makes possible the identification of the female figure standing to the left of Vesta as Livia wearing a

peplos and standing in a gesture of *pudicitia* (modesty).¹⁶³ Thompson notes that Livia’s place in the scene is particularly noteworthy given that she is presented here as wife and mother, and the embodiment of the female virtues that the Vestals also stood for.¹⁶⁴ But perhaps one can also see a foreshadowing of Livia’s position as priestess, which would have a *gravitas* on par with that of the Vestal Virgins, hence their shared iconography on coins and in sculpture.

Livia’s coin portrait types with head veiled, as well as the seated Livia figure with head veiled, depicted the empress in garb that not only echoed that worn by Vestal priestesses, but also exemplified her pious devotion to her new public role as priestess of the cult of the deified Augustus. The iconography used in the depictions of the personification of the virtue *Pietas*, a virtue that symbolized devotion to the gods, state and family, was also shared by Vesta and Livia, thereby intimately linking these three in a dialogue of pious virtue characteristic of the ruling imperial regime. Bronze dupondii of Rome issued in 22–23 CE (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.3) featured the obverse portrait of the personification of *Pietas*. Here, *Pietas* is depicted in a right portrait profile with head veiled and wearing a diadem. The legend PIETAS is visible in the exergue. There has been considerable debate as to whether the portrait depicted is in fact a representation of Livia. Both Bartman and Gross have dismissed an identification of this image as Livia arguing that the epithet “Augusta” is absent and that the portrait features are too idealized to warrant identification with a particular personage let alone Livia.¹⁶⁵ However, Winkes argues that it is very likely that the Roman viewer would have easily associated these types with Livia.¹⁶⁶ First of all, the *Pietas* type, with its veiled and diademed portrait, could easily call to mind Livia’s role as priestess of the deified Augustus. That this image could be perceived as Livia is reinforced by a cameo portrait of her successor to the post of priestess of the deified Augustus, Antonia Minor, which shows her with head veiled and diademed exactly as the *Pietas* represented on the Tiberian coin.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, the image of *Pietas* embodied the ideology of Livia’s devotion to the imperial family, the deified Augustus and to the state in her role as *materfamilias*.

The association between Livia, *Pietas* and the seated female figure on Tiberius’s aes coins is reinforced by sestertii issued under his successor Caligula in 37–41 CE (Figure 4.13) in celebration of his dedication of the temple of Divus Augustus in Rome.¹⁶⁸ The obverse of the coin depicts the goddess *Pietas* seated and veiled, holding the patera. The legend PIETAS is visible in the exergue. This seated *Pietas* figure combined with the temple of Divus Augustus on the reverse, not only referred to Caligula’s own *pietas* in completing and dedicating this sacred monument to Augustus, which had been started by Tiberius and Livia, but also alluded to the sacred office of priestess of the deified Augustus. The iconography of the *Pietas* figure recalls that of the seated representation of Livia on Tiberius’s aes coins of 15–16 CE (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.11), as well as statues of Livia, in particular the one from Paestum (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.15), which included the popular veiled head motif, and thus commemorated Livia in her roles as priestess and mother.¹⁶⁹ The iconography of this representation of *Pietas*, which was also employed in the



Figure 4.13 AE Sestertius of Rome with obverse of the personification of Pietas seated on throne and holding a patera. c. 37–41 CE. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

iconographic repertoire of Livia, undoubtedly would have also invoked memories of Livia and provided a further link between Caligula and Divus Augustus.

Additional evidence that Livia’s position as mother and priestess was promoted and idealized through the virtue Pietas can be found on coins issued in the provinces which associate Livia with this virtue by name. One coin from Amphipolis in Macedonia issued during the reign of Tiberius takes the veiled Pietas portrait issued on coins of Rome in 22–23 CE and connects it to Livia through the accompanying legend $\text{IOY\AA\text{I}\text{A}\ \Sigma\text{E}\text{B}\text{A}\Sigma\text{TH}\ \Theta\text{E}\text{A}}$, “the divine Julia Augusta”.¹⁷⁰ Another coin issued at Thessalonica during the same time as the Amphipolis coin depicts on its reverse a veiled portrait bust along with the legend $\Sigma\text{E}\text{B}\text{A}\Sigma\text{TH}$, a title frequently given to Livia on coins and inscriptions of the Greek East since the time of Augustus.¹⁷¹ Also in Macedonia, the colonial mint at Pella/Dium issued coins, one with the Iustitia portrait and another with the Pietas portrait issued at Rome in 22–23 CE, along with the legends PIETAS AVGUSTA and PIETAS respectively.¹⁷² In the west, coins from Caesaraugusta in Spain contain the same veiled vestige and the legend PIETATIS AVGVSTAE .¹⁷³ The fact that the epithet “Augusta” is attached to the name “Pietas” indicates that this virtue was perceived as being part of Livia’s matronly character. The addition of “Augusta” to the legend, in contrast to the Pietas type issued in Rome, which lacks it, was intentional on the part of local magistrates who wished to honour Livia in a more direct fashion.¹⁷⁴

The iconography of Pietas, Vesta and even the goddess Ceres was invoked in the ultimate representation of Livia as a goddess when the emperor Claudius issued

the bronze dupondius commemorating her deification in 42 CE (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.16). On this coin we see Livia in the same seated pose as displayed in the numismatic representations of Pietas (Figure 4.13) and Ceres (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.17). She carries the attributes of Ceres: ears of grain and a torch. Similar iconography can be seen in coins of the emperor Galba that commemorate Livia as *Diva Augusta*. Sestertii of Galba depict Livia seated with the same regal pose as can be found on the dupondius of Claudius. Interestingly, Galba also issued bronze coins of the goddesses Vesta, Ceres and Salus with a seated pose and iconographic attributes shared with Galba's seated Livia figure.¹⁷⁵ The invocation of the iconography of these goddesses associated with motherhood, home and hearth, promoted Livia as a goddess in line with Roman traditions and ideals, and as a bestower of well-being and abundance.¹⁷⁶ As a goddess in Rome, care for Livia's cult was given to the Vestal Virgins, and her cult statue was placed alongside that of the deified Augustus in the Temple of Divus Augustus.¹⁷⁷ It is no coincidence that Livia's close association with Vesta persisted after her death and deification, as she continued to be viewed as a protectress of Rome, of the imperial family and in turn of Claudius and his successors for years to come.

Conclusion

The socio-political roles of Livia as wife, mother, priestess and ultimately goddess, were intimately linked to ideologies of power. Although Livia did not have independent status and authority in her own right, images of Livia in coins and other media gave her the unprecedented semblance of power, which in turn affected the perceived power of the emperor himself. The iconography employed for Livia's representation on coins infused her public persona with a degree of power that was comparable to her male imperial family members. Public power, traditionally a male domain, was being redefined to include power that was peculiar to female imperial family members, especially the empress in her role as *materfamilias*.

The coin images of Livia as discussed in Chapter 3, when accompanied by those of her male familial counterparts, whether on the same coin or as part of a coin series, negotiated the male versus female power relations that existed between imperial family members. These power relations were defined through familial relations that Livia held with her husband Augustus and her son Tiberius, as well as their respective successors, for the purposes of promoting and legitimizing the perpetuation of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Further to the promotion of dynasty was the monopolization of ruling power by the imperial family, in particular the emperor and the empress. Augustus and Livia, as *paterfamilias* and *materfamilias* respectively, were setting themselves up as the patrons of the Roman Empire in accordance with the traditions of the patron-client system at Rome.¹⁷⁸ In Chapter 3 specific examples were given of Livia's activities as *patrona* in the provinces. Therefore, Livia needed to be presented as more than simply the mother of the imperial family, but as the mother and patroness of all. Livia's new socio-political and religious roles, which transcended multiple gender categories needed to be

communicated by means of a visual repertoire that presented Livia as an imperial power figure. To achieve this visual presentation of Livia's power, the designers of Livia's images in coins and other media, tapped into the messages of power and associated gender roles communicated through the iconography of the gods.

Notes

- 1 Joyce, “The Construction of Gender in Maya Classic Monuments”, 167–195.
- 2 Kampen, “Epilogue: Gender and Desire”, 267.
- 3 Kampen, “Epilogue: Gender and Desire”, 267. See also Rodgers, “Female Representation in Roman Art: Feminising the Provincial Other”, 69–94.
- 4 Rodgers, “Female Representation in Roman Art”, 75; Hemelrijk, *Matrona Docta: Educated Women in the Roman Elite from Cornelia to Julia Domna*, 146ff. Roman women were known to have written poetry, but the only surviving work is that of Sulpicia, which we have only in fragments. Women were also the dedicators of inscriptions, particularly in the funerary context. But research by scholars has found that the number of such dedications by men still substantially outnumbered those set up by women. One study by Serena Zabin indicates that Jewish women in the western Roman Empire were responsible for about 20% of dedications. See Zabin, “‘Iudeae benemerenti’: Towards a Study of Jewish Women in the western Roman Empire”, 262–282. Thanks to Alison Jeppessen-Wigglesworth for her insight on the matter of epigraphic dedications by women in the Roman Empire.
- 5 Hodge and Kress, *Social Semiotics*, 3.
- 6 Ibid. See also D'Ambra, *Roman Women*, 3 and 8.
- 7 Kent, “Egalitarianism, equality and equitable power”, 32.
- 8 Connell, *Gender: in world perspective*, 59. Here, Connell cites Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. A. Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).
- 9 Rozmarin, “Power, Freedom and Individuality: Foucault and Sexual Difference”, 3–4.
- 10 Kellum, “Concealing/Revealing: gender and the play of meaning in the monuments of Rome”, 181.
- 11 Montserrat, “Reading Gender in the Roman World”, 155; D'Ambra, *Roman Women*, 12–13; Ramsby and Severy-Hoven, “Gender, Sex and the Domestication of the Empire in the Art of the Augustan Age”, 61–62.
- 12 Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis”, 1067; Connell, *Gender: in world perspective*, 10–11.
- 13 Gardner, “Sexing a Roman: imperfect men in Roman law”, 141, 146–147.
- 14 Milnor, *Gender, Domesticity, and the Age of Augustus: Inventing Private Life*, 31–32; Ramsby and Severy-Hoven, “Gender, Sex and the Domestication of the Empire in the Art of the Augustan Age”, 46; D'Ambra, *Roman Women*, 12–13.
- 15 See Val. Max. 6.7.1–3, which gives several examples of wives and their devotion to their husbands. Concerning a woman's modest and chaste behaviour see the Pythagorean text attributed to Phintys (Italy, 3rd/2nd century BCE) cited by Lefkowitz and Fant, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome*, 163–164. Regarding dress, the veil was an important symbol of the humility of the ideal Roman matron and her submission to her husband, as indicated in Val. Max. 6.3.10. See also Sebesta, “Symbolism in the Costume of Women”, 46–47.
- 16 A few examples include: Ovid who encourages his wife to follow the example of Livia (Ov. *Trist.* 1.6.25–27 and Ov. *Pont.* 3.1.114–118); Valerius Maximus (6.1. praef.) who refers to *Pudicitia* as a personification representing Livia's modesty and chastity; and

- Dio 55.2.4 and 55.8.2 refers to various social functions she organized involving the participation of other matrons of Rome.
- 17 Levy, “Gender, Power, and Heterarchy in Middle Level Societies”, 75.
 - 18 Meyers, “Hierarchy or Heterarchy? Archaeology and the Theorizing of Israelite Society”, 246.
 - 19 Levy, “Gender, Power, and Heterarchy in Middle Level Societies”, 74. The concept of heterarchy has also been broached in the study of Classical and Near Eastern antiquity including Meyers, “Hierarchy or Heterarchy?” 249–251, Goldberg, “Hierarchy, Heterarchy, and Power in Roman Religio-Political Life”, 28–39, and Svärd, “Power and Women in the Neo-Assyrian Palaces” (PhD diss., University of Helsinki, 2012).
 - 20 Levy, “Gender, Heterarchy and Hierarchy”, 189. Here Levy cites Carole L. Crumley, “A Dialectical Critique of Hierarchy”, *Power Relations and State Formation*, eds. Thomas C. Patterson and Christine W. Gailey (Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association, 1987) 155–169.
 - 21 Levy, “Gender, Power, and Heterarchy in Middle Level Societies”, 62.
 - 22 Meyers, “Hierarchy or Heterarchy?” 249.
 - 23 Levy, “Gender, Power, and Heterarchy in Middle Level Societies”, 70; Meyers, “Hierarchy or Heterarchy?” 249 and 251. See also Spencer-Wood, “Gendering Power”, 179–180, who points out other scholars who strongly critique male-biased assumptions that men always hold “power over” society rather than considering how social groups, whether male or female, have the “power to” transform society.
 - 24 Dio 49.38.1. See also D’Ambra, *Roman Women*, 150, and discussion in Introduction, p. 6ff.
 - 25 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 199–205; Brännstedt, “Livia on the Move”, 41; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL)* 6.883 (Fortuna Muliebris), *Ov. Fast.* 5.147–58 (Bona Dea), and *Ov. Fast.* 6.637–8 (Concordia).
 - 26 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 207–208; McIntyre, *A Family of Gods: The Worship of the Imperial Family in the Latin West*, 49–54.
 - 27 Tac. *Ann.* 4.16.4 states that Livia was also granted the right to sit with the Vestals in the theatre. The carpentum came to be a mode of formal transportation for future empresses: Tac. *Ann.* 12.42.2 (Agrippina’s use of the carpentum), Dio 60.22.2 (Messalina granted use of a carpentum).
 - 28 Staples, *From Good Goddess to Vestal Virgins: sex and category in Roman religion*, 161.
 - 29 Scheer, “Bilder der Macht? Repräsentationem römischer Kaiserinnen”, 299 states that emperors including Tiberius made a point of recalling their relationships to their mothers not only for the purpose of demonstrating their own familial *pietas*, but also in order to bring further legitimization to the imperial dynasty. Corbier, “Male Power and Legitimacy through Women: the Domus Augusta under the Julio-Claudians”, 182–186 discusses at length how Julio-Claudian emperors sought legitimacy for their rule not only through their immediate family members, but more importantly through the familial links that could be made directly back to Augustus and Livia through those blood lines. See also Alexandridis, *Die Frauen des Römischen Kaiserhauses: Eine Untersuchung ihrer Bildlichen Darstellung von Livia bis Julia Domna*, 18.
 - 30 Corbier, “Male Power and Legitimacy through Women”, 182–186. This argument is also echoed by Scheer, “Bilder der Macht? Repräsentationen römischer Kaiserinnen”, 299.
 - 31 Severy, *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire*, 236.
 - 32 Rodgers, “Female Representation in Roman Art”, 70–71.
 - 33 Fischler, “Social Stereotypes and Historical Analysis: The Case of the Imperial Women at Rome”, 116.
 - 34 Sheriff, “How Images Got Their Gender: Masculinity and Femininity in the Visual Arts”, 149; Rodgers, “Female Representation in Roman Art”, 70–71.

- 35 Fischler, “Social Stereotypes and Historical Analysis”, 115 focuses her study on the portrayal of women in ancient literary texts, most of which were likely composed by men. The principle she states applies to visual portrayals of women as well.
- 36 D’Ambra, *Roman Women*, 13–16, who states that “Esteemed matrons could be depicted with masculine characteristics in literary and visual representations to demonstrate that only exceptional women could acquire the dignity, discipline and high-mindedness of the male ideal.” Varner, “Transcending Gender: Assimilation, Identity, and Roman Imperial Portraits”, 189–191 notes that although Livia’s images are not overtly masculinized, they are at times imbued with masculine attributes such as the laurel. He also points out in this work that images of the emperor could even be imbued with female attributes from time to time. See also Corbeill, “Gender Studies”, 227.
- 37 See Livy 34.1–4 which details Marcus Portius Cato’s speech concerning the women’s repeal of the Oppian Law and how the women’s open political voice on this matter was seen as a threat to male political authority.
- 38 Dio 57.12.1–6.
- 39 Suet. *Tib.* 50.2–3.
- 40 Tac. *Ann.* 1.4.5.
- 41 Suet. *Cal.* 23.2. “Liviam Augustam proaviam ‘Ulixem Stolatum’ Identidem Appellans, . . .”
- 42 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 121 and 236. See also Bartman, *Portraits of Livia: Imaging the Imperial Woman in Augustan Rome*, 42 and Purcell, “Livia and the Womanhood of Rome”, 79.
- 43 Ov. *Pont.* 3.1.125–128, but especially Ov. *Tr.* 1.6.25–27 where he states that his own wife’s qualities might be derived from Livia, *femina princeps*:

femina seu princeps omnes tibi culta per annos
te docet exemplum coniugis esse bonae,
adsimileque sui longa adsuetudine fecit

See also Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 93.

- 44 Augustus chose this title *princeps* as way of defining his own authority as rooted in Republican traditions. While not an official title used in documents or inscriptions, the importance of this appellation is mentioned in Tac. *Ann.* 1.1 and 3.28. See also *OCD*⁴, s.v. *princeps*.
- 45 *Consolatio ad Liviam*, 351–356, where Livia is referred to as *princeps Romana*; Purcell, “Livia and the Womanhood of Rome”, 80–81, and Jenkins, “Livia the Princeps: Gender and Ideology in the *Consolatio ad Liviam*”, 15–16, who notes that while Antonia the Younger was lauded as *femina princeps* as well in the poem due to her status as Drusus’s wife, Livia nonetheless stands out as the female figure at the centre of the imperial family. See also Brännstedt, *Femina Princeps: Livia’s Position in the Roman state*, 56.
- 46 Jenkins, “Livia the Princeps”, 1. See also Angelova, *Sacred Founders: Women, Men and Gods in the Discourse of Imperial Founding, Rome Through Early Byzantium*, 71.
- 47 Purcell, “Livia and the Womanhood of Rome”, 81–82; Brännstedt, *Femina Princeps*, 26–27; Jenkins, “Livia the Princeps”, 6.
- 48 Fischler, “Social Stereotypes and Historical Analysis”, 128–129.
- 49 Spencer-Wood, “Gendering Power”, 175; Brännstedt, *Femina Princeps*, 24–26 and Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 232–243.
- 50 Kampen, “Between Public and Private”, 242.
- 51 Kampen, “Between Public and Private”, 243; Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 219.
- 52 Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 232.
- 53 Winkler, *Salus: Vom Staatskult zur Politischen Idee, eine Archäologische Untersuchung*, 46–47. Winkler also notes that the lack of a diadem also indicates an approximation to the empress.

- 54 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 93.
- 55 Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 240; Winkler, *Salus*, 51–54.
- 56 Kampen, “Between Public and Private”, 242.
- 57 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 93; Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy*, 192; Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 112. These scholars often refer to Tac. *Ann.* 3.64, which simply refers to Livia being affected by serious illness around this time.
- 58 Wood, *Imperial Women: A Study in Public Images, 40 BC–AD 68*, 109; Winkler, *Salus*, 53.
- 59 Pearce, “The Role of the Wife as *Custos* in Ancient Rome”, 16–33. See also Winkler, *Salus*, 53–54.
- 60 Tac. *Ann.* 1.14.1–4: “*Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatione: alii parentem, alii matrem patriae appellandam, plerique ut nomini Caesaris adscriberetur ‘Iuliae filius’ censebant.*” See also Dio 58.2. 1–3.
- 61 *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 35.1; Suet. *Aug.* 58.
- 62 Sen. *Clem.* 1.14.2.
- 63 Note that the title *mater patriae* would not have come with any legally binding power as in the case of Augustus’s *pater patriae*, which asserted his position as *paterfamilias* over the state and its accompanying legally recognized *potestas*.
- 64 Dio 58.2.2–3. See also Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 137.
- 65 For extensive discussions of Livia’s role as patron see Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 186–214, and Brännstedt, *Femina Princeps*, 91–136.
- 66 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 157.
- 67 Supra Chapters 2 and 3. *RIC*², 33–36 and 72.
- 68 *Roman Provincial Coinage (RPC)* I, 848 (Divus Augustus) and 849–850 (Tiberius with Livia as *mater patriae* on reverse).
- 69 Grant, *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius*, 127.
- 70 Burnett et al., *RPC* I, 2–3. The cities that mentioned this permission on the texts of their coins included: Eborac, Emerita, Italica, Traducta, Patricia and Romula in Spain; Paterna, Cercina and Thaena in Africa; and Berytus in Syria. There is a mix of free cities and colonies. Of these, only coins of Emerita (*RPC* I, no. 39); Italica (*RPC* I, no. 66–67) and Romula (*RPC* I, no. 73) and Paterna (*RPC* I, no. 763, 766 and 769) refer to Livia. See also Burnett, “Roman Provincial Coins of the Julio-Claudians”, 151–152. See also supra Chapter 3, p. 20, n. 58.
- 71 Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 81.
- 72 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 163. See also Wood, *Imperial Women*, 90 who states that this AVGUSTA MATER PATRIAE coin of Lepcis Magna is “. . . a clear example of autonomy on the part of some local mint official: expressions of loyalty to the Roman state and the imperial family were not always dictated from above.”
- 73 *RPC* I, 2453.
- 74 Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*, 180–181.
- 75 Brännstedt, *Femina Princeps*, 79.
- 76 Venus as mother, literally one who brings forth or produces. See *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “genetrix”.
- 77 *CIL* 2.2038. See Ch. 3, n. 142.
- 78 Ov. *Fast.* 2.130 refers to Augustus as *pater orbis*.
- 79 Green, *Roman Religion and the Cult of Diana at Aricia*, 73; Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 100–101.
- 80 Ov. *Fast.* 1.649–650: “hanc tua constituit genetrix et rebus at ara, sola toro magna digna reperta Iovis.” Interestingly, in almost the same breath, Ovid prophesies the deification of Livia at *Fast.* 1.536.

81 Ov. *Pont.* 3.1.114–118:

Caesaris ex coniunx ore precando tuo,
 quae praestat virtute sua, ne prisca vetustas
 laude pudicitiae saecula nostra premat:
 quae Veneris formam, mores Iunonis habendo
 sola est caelesti digna reperta toro.

- 82 Chaves Tristan, “Livia Como Venus en la Amonedación de Colonia Romula”, 92–93, who also points out on p. 95 a coin of Caesar and a Pompeian fresco that depict Venus in connection with a sphere/globe.
- 83 Brännstedt, *Femina Princeps*, 76–77; Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 77–78.
- 84 Sculptural examples of Livia wearing a stephane include Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 148, no. 5; 158, no. 29; 179, no. 73; 181 nos. 77–78. One example from Velletri, which dates to the reign of Claudius, although heavily restored, may have originally included some form of the *stephane*. See Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 152–153, no. 15, fig. 132–133. Very few cameos survive that depict Livia with this attribute. Bartman cites one example from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, but its fragmentary state of preservation makes it difficult to identify its subject as Livia. See Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 191, no. 102, fig. 188.
- 85 *RPC* I, 1427.
- 86 The coin from Pella-Dium has been dated more specifically to after 22–23 CE based most likely on the striking similarity of this coin to the one issued in Rome. The one from Thessalonica has some different iconographic details such as a distinct and unclassified hairstyle that leaves the precise date open to some question. See *RPC* I, 1542 (Pella-Dium), 1568 (Thessalonica).
- 87 Plin. *HN* 15.40 136–137; Suet. *Galb.* 1; Dio 48.52.3–4. See also Flory, “The Symbolism of the Laurel in Cameo Portraits of Livia”, 53.
- 88 Ibid. See also Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 113 and Flory, “Octavian and the Omen of the ‘Gallina Alba’”, 345–347 who mentions Octavian’s establishment and use of the tradition of the use of the laurel in the celebration of triumphs. Also note the Senate and People of Rome’s granting of the honour of the two laurel trees placed at the door of Augustus’s house on the Palatine as mentioned in Dio 53.16.4.
- 89 Kellum, “The Construction of Landscape in Augustan Rome: The Garden Room at the Villa *ad Gallinas*”, 215, 218–219. Kellum notes the “tree-laden landscape” of the Garden Room, which also contained the highly significant myrtle (associated with Venus), oak (associated with Jupiter), ivy and pine (both associated with Dionysus), all materials used for triumphal crowns.
- 90 *Roman Republican Coinage (RRC)*, 430/1. This denarius was issued by P. Licinius Crassus in 55 BCE.
- 91 Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 136; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 99–102; and Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 89–90 identify the next female figure behind Agrippa as Livia based on the fact that this is the first female depicted behind the emperor, who wears a laurel crown as Augustus does, and a veil upon her head which marks her as *materfamilias*.
- 92 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 151, no. 12. Bartman notes that parts of this bust have been restored, including the laurel crown.
- 93 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 189, no. 95 and 193, no. 107.
- 94 Flory, “The Symbolism of the Laurel in the Cameo Portraits of Livia”, 52–53.
- 95 Ibid.
- 96 Flory, “The Symbolism of the Laurel in the Cameo Portraits of Livia”, 44–45.
- 97 Gross, *Julia Augusta: Untersuchungen zur Grundlegung einer Livia-Ikonographie*, 63–64.

- 98 Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 87; Stuart, “How Were Imperial Portraits Distributed Throughout the Empire?” 601–617; King, “Roman Portraiture: Images of Power?” 127. Beckmann, “The Relationship between Numismatic Portraits and Marble Busts”, 39 states that there were derivative models of portraits based on a primary one, which served as models for coinage.
- 99 *Roman Imperial Coinage* (RIC) I², 37.
- 100 Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art*, 89.
- 101 Both Wood 1999 and Bartman 1999 have explored Livia’s image in sculpture and cameos and the accompanying attribute of the laurel in their works covering the portraits of Livia.
- 102 *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 34.2; Ov. *Met.* 1. 452–567. For Augustan coins with the laurels: RIC I², 33a and b, 50a and b, 419, 549 and there are numerous others depicting Augustus laureate.
- 103 Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.39–46.
- 104 Flory, “The Symbolism of the Laurel in Cameo Portraits of Livia”, 47.
- 105 Flory, “The Symbolism of the Laurel in Cameo Portraits of Livia”, 62–63. Here, Flory points out that these combined attributes of the laurel with wheat sheaves and poppies was also a symbol of Dea Roma as represented on the Gemma Claudia in Vienna at the Kunsthistorisches Museum.
- 106 Varner, “Transcending Gender: Assimilation, Identity, and Roman Imperial Portraits”, 189–191.
- 107 Flory, “The Symbolism of the Laurel in the Cameo Portraits of Livia”, 60. Here, Flory argues that the laurel of Livia was not intended as an equivalent of that of Augustus, but rather “It is an analogous symbol of stature but has a wealth of female symbolism all its own.”
- 108 Tamsyn Barton, “Augustus and Capricorn: Astrological Polyvalency and Imperial Rhetoric”, points out on p. 42 that the reason Augustus emphasized the Capricorn as the sign of his conception as opposed to Libra, the sign of his birth, was due to the close association of the symbol with the Sun. The Sun was especially important to Augustus on account of its association with Apollo, Augustus’s patron god whom he credited with his victory at Actium.
- 109 Grant, *Roman Imperial Money*, 73; Lewis, “Augustus and his Horoscope Reconsidered”, 309; Wallace-Hadrill, “Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus”, 73 and 76.
- 110 Fears, *Princeps a Diis Electus: The Divine Election of the Emperor as a Political Concept at Rome*, 210.
- 111 The Capricorn type was first brought into prominence by Augustus. Suet. *Aug.* 94. 12 relates how the symbol came to be of such great importance to Augustus because of the divinations of the astrologer Theogenes which gave Augustus such faith in the destiny that awaited him that he published his horoscope and struck silver coins with the Capricorn, the sign of his birth. See also Dio 56.25.5.
- 112 Burnett et al., *RPC* I, 46 state that this type was widespread under Augustus and appeared with Augustus on coins of various mints in Spain, Gaul, Africa, Sicily, Asia and Egypt.
- 113 *RPC* I, nos. 2650 and 2651. Note that also around the same time this mint issued coins with Livia as Demeter on the reverse.
- 114 For Capricorn without portraits see *RPC* I, nos. 1704, 1705 and 1707. For Augustus portrait with Capricorn see *RPC* I, nos. 1715–1717, and 1719.
- 115 *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* (BMCRE) I, no. 109. Also, a bronze coin of Panormus in Sicily, *RPC* I, no. 644, issued under the reign of Tiberius shows the radiate head of Augustus on the obverse with the Capricorn on the reverse, further reinforcing its use as a symbol for the deified Augustus.
- 116 *RPC* I, nos. 644 and 645. Note that these two coins were issued by the same *duoviri* magistrates Cn. Domi Procul and A. Laetor as indicated by the legends on the coins.

- 117 Burnett, “Roman Provincial Coins of the Julio-Claudians”, 153. See also Horster, “Coinage and images of the imperial family: local identity and Roman rule”, 251.
- 118 Brännstedt, *Femina Princeps*, 160–162, who notes that on both coins and inscriptions Livia’s male counterparts were not referred to as *theoi* to the same extent as Livia was.
- 119 *RPC I*, 1427.
- 120 *RPC I*, 2345.
- 121 *RPC I*, 4049.
- 122 *RPC I*, 1779.
- 123 *RPC I*, 2338.
- 124 *RPC I*, 2496.
- 125 *RPC I*, 1563.
- 126 *RPC I*, 2492.
- 127 *RPC I*, 1634 (Amphipolis) and 2453 (Magnesia ad Sipylum).
- 128 *RPC I*, 2452.
- 129 *RPC I*, 1020 (Cydonia), 3841 and 3843 (Kingdom of Armenia), and 5423 (uncertain mint).
- 130 Pollini, *From Republic to Empire: Rhetoric, Religion, and Power in the Visual Culture of Ancient Rome*, 417–418; Barton, “Augustus and Capricorn: Astrological Polyvalency and Imperial Rhetoric”, 36.
- 131 Western mints included Italica in Spain (*RPC* 63), Forum Iulii in Gaul (*RPC* 534–536) and Thapsus (*RPC* 792), Lepcis Magna (845) and Caesarea (*RPC* 880) in Africa, while eastern examples came predominantly from mints in Asia including Parium (*RPC* 2263–2264), Pergamum (*RPC* 2205, 2208, 2211, 2213), Smyrna (*RPC* 2468), Magnesia ad Maeandrum (*RPC* 2694), Trapezopolis (*RPC* 2848), Tabae (*RPC* 2869), Cibyra (*RPC* 2882) and Laodicea (*RPC* 2897). There were also the issues from the mint of Thrace under King Rhoemetalses I (*RPC* 1704, 1708, 1719).
- 132 Jupiter/J Zeus examples include: *RIC I*², 269a, 270 and 277 (Augustus); *RPC I*, 92–94, 394 (Augustus); *RPC I*, 1104 (Augustus); *RPC I*, 832 (Tiberius). Apollo examples include: *RIC I*², 36a and 51 (Augustus); *RPC I*, 657, 1734 and, 3309 (Augustus).
- 133 *RIC I*², 170 and 180.
- 134 Burnett, “Roman Provincial Coins of the Julio-Claudians”, 153.
- 135 Brännstedt, *Femina Princeps*, 162, notes the lack of Livia’s divine connections on the coins of Rome as well.
- 136 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 207–208. See also Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 96.
- 137 Dio 51.20.6–8 explains Augustus’s policy regarding his worship in the eastern provinces. Romans resident in eastern cities of Asia and Bithynia should worship the divinities Roma and Julius Caesar, while others, namely Hellenes, could dedicate religious precincts to him. See also Beard, et al., *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1 “A History”, 352–353 and Southern, *Augustus*, 195.
- 138 Brännstedt, *Femina Princeps*, 162.
- 139 Brännstedt, *Femina Princeps*, 160.
- 140 Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 76–77, who refers to inscriptions from such cities as Mylae, Cyzicus, Larissa, Samos, Aphrodisias, Chios, Attaleia, Sparta and Athens.
- 141 Scheer, “Bilder der Macht?” 311–312.
- 142 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 159–160.
- 143 Brännstedt, “Livia on the Move”, 41.
- 144 Dio 56.46.1–2. Note, however, Tac. *Ann.* 1.14.2 states that Tiberius did not allow Livia to be granted the privilege of a lictor. Brännstedt, “Livia on the Move”, 42 mentions that the particular lictor assigned to Livia was a *lictor curiatus*, a special kind of lictor assigned to Vestals for religious purposes, which “. . .helped legitimize Livia’s escorted movement.”

- 145 Supra n.13. See also Gardner, "Sexing a Roman", 141 and 146–147; and Ramsby and Severy-Hoven, "Gender, Sex, and the Domestication of the Empire in Art of the Augustan Age", 46.
- 146 Central to the cult of Vesta was the belief which equated the steadfastness of the hearth fire of the Roman domestic household with the perseverance, stability and well-being of the Roman state. The Vestal Virgins tended to the sacred hearth fire of the Roman state, housed in a temple in Rome's Forum.
- 147 Staples, *From Good Goddess to Vestal Virgins*, 141 and 145–147; Gallia, "The Vestal Habit", 222–240 provides an excellent evaluation of the details of Vestal dress and how its design blurred gender roles and categories relating to women.
- 148 Beard, "Re-Reading (Vestal) Virginity", 167.
- 149 Beard, "Re-Reading (Vestal) Virginity", 168.
- 150 Staples, *From Good Goddess to Vestal Virgins*, 149; Varro, *Ling.* 5.61. Here, Varro indicates that two conditions are necessary for procreation: fire and water. The fire is male semen, while the water is the female moisture in which the baby develops.
- 151 Ov. *Pont.* 4.13.29: "esse pudicarum te Vestam, Livia, matrum, ambiguum nato dignior anne viro;"
- 152 Sorrento Base, Museo Correale de Terranova, Inv. no. 3657.
- 153 Fantham, "Covering the Head at Rome: Ritual and Gender", 163, 166; Wildfang, *Rome's Vestal Virgins: A study of Rome's Vestal priestesses in the late Republic and early Empire*, 13.
- 154 Lindner, *Portraits of the Vestal Virgins, Priestesses of Ancient Rome*, 22–24, also points out the modius, ears of grain and the loaf of bread that sit beside the chair making clear the connection between the goddess and the bakers' work which provides for the health and well-being of the city. One could also make associations with the goddess Ceres who has similar iconography to that of Vesta. In addition, Lindner notes the snake at the base of the throne and coiling up about the patera, which also links this figure to Salus.
- 155 *RIC* I², 47.
- 156 *RRC*, 512.
- 157 Wildfang, *Rome's Vestal Virgins*, 92; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 82.
- 158 Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 240.
- 159 Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 240; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 82.
- 160 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 92–93 and 95.
- 161 Tac. *Ann.* 4.16.4; Wood, *Imperial Women*, 82; Winkler, *Salus*, 53–54; Brännstedt, "Livia on the Move", 43.
- 162 Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 95 and 144; Brännstedt, "Livia on the Move", 42. Note also that Tac. *Ann.* 12.42.2 indicates that the *carpentum* was a privilege traditionally reserved for priests and sacred objects. See also Dio 60.22.2.
- 163 Lindner, *Portraits of the Vestal Virgins*, 85; Thompson, "Images of Vesta and the Vestal Virgins in Roman State Religion and Imperial Policy of the First and Second Centuries AD", 95–96.
- 164 Thompson, "Images of Vesta", 169.
- 165 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 7; Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, 18.
- 166 Winkes, "Livia: Portrait and Propaganda", 38.
- 167 Spier, *Ancient Gems and Finger Rings: Catalogue of the Collections*, 156, no. 432. Here, Spier notes that the identification of this portrait as Antonia Minor is somewhat questionable, and that it has previously also been identified as Livia.
- 168 *RIC* I², 36.
- 169 Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 109; Hughes, "Unveiling the Veil: cultic, status, and ethnic representations of early imperial freedwomen", 229 provides the example of Livia's representation on the Ara Pacis Augustae, whose veiled head during an

event of sacrificial ritual marks her as “. . . the so-called veiled pious *matrona*.” See also Sebesta, “Women’s Costume and Feminine Civic Morality in Augustan Rome”, 529–541.

170 *RPC* I, 1634.

171 *RPC* I, 1570–1571.

172 *RPC* I, 1542 and 1543.

173 *RPC* I, 362–363. Note that the authors of *RPC* I suggest a date for these coins as being after Livia’s death in 29 CE.

174 Grant, *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius*, 114.

175 *RIC* I², 291 (Ceres), 375 (Vesta), 396 (Salus). Morelli, “La rappresentazione di Livia nella monetazione di Galba”, 111–112 notes this interweaving of iconography between the seated *Diva Augusta* and other goddess on the coins of Galba as a deliberate composition that linked the emperor to the qualities of all of these goddesses, while to divinity of Livia and his familial relationship to her solidified this connection.

176 Fabbri, “Livia, Diva Augusta, Dea Cerere sul dupondio coniato dall’imperatore Claudio nel 42 D.C.”, 178–179.

177 Dio 60.5.2. See also Brännstedt, *Femina Princeps*, 165.

178 Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 9–10 and 136–137; Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 188. See also Richard P. Saller, “Pater Familas, Mater Familias, and the Gendered Semantics of the Roman Household”, 185.

CONCLUSION

The images of Livia presented on coins of Rome and its provinces provides another dimension to the biography of Livia that was also communicated in sculpture, cameos and even in the works of ancient authors. The manner in which Livia was depicted on coins, while at times standardized, was also quite innovative and laid the foundations for the manner in which future female imperial family members would be portrayed. The commemoration of imperial women at Rome, although reserved under Augustus and Tiberius, increased under the remaining Julio-Claudians and beyond. The wives and mothers of emperors were routinely depicted, and named, on coins issued by the mint of Rome and in all denominations including the precious metal ones. These women continued to be commemorated in the provinces as well, although the production of coinage at western civic mints ceased by the time of the reign of the emperor Claudius. The visual modes of the iconic and powerful Livia continued to be used in the representations of imperial women and served as symbols of the power of imperial rule. But subsequent empresses were distinguished from former empresses in their own way by donning unique style-defining hairstyles and, at times, being given new representational modes, such as the mother with children familial portraits that were introduced for the Antonine empresses.

My examination of Livia's coins has hopefully added a new and deeper understanding of a dimension of Livia's visual program that has often been overlooked. The analyses presented here regarding the body of coins produced for the commemoration of Livia has revealed that a complex numismatic visual program was developed for her representation, a program rooted in fundamental iconographic elements that transcended multiple media. The mapping of Livia's visual program as presented on coins has reinforced the theory that this program was based on modes of representation – facial portrait, seated female figure, and standing female figure – developed under the auspices of the central governing authority of the imperial regime in Rome. These representational modes were then cited, and adapted, by mints in Rome's provincial cities in order to effectively communicate the socio-political and religious ideologies linked to the perpetuation of the dynastic imperial regime. The prototypes for these numismatic representational modes, based in sculptural and cameo/intaglio representations of Livia,

ensured that Livia's coin images adhered to the visual formulas, or syntaxes, held in common with other media. The use of a common visual language for the representation of Livia on coins facilitated maximum communicability between the visual messages posed by the authors of the coins and the meanings perceived by the viewers. While such visual analyses of bodies of coinage pertaining to particular individuals in the Roman imperial regime can be a daunting task, the body of Livia's coins examined here has shown that coins as a distinctive visual medium can no longer be passed over due to the diminutive nature of their images nor the seemingly large number of image types that may exist.

The multifariousness of Livia's numismatic images reflected the complexity of Livia's gender-infused socio-political roles. While it is evident that Livia's predominant roles promoted via coins (and other media with shared iconography) consisted of mother, wife, priestess, and divine figure, the coins images were designed to convey these roles, not just one at a time, but also several at once. Some paradigmatic elements, such as Livia's nodus hairstyle type, were exclusive to the representation of imperial women on coins of the late Republican and Augustan eras, in particular Livia. Others, namely attributes such as sceptre, stephane or ears of grain, provided ideological connections between Livia and characteristics typical of mother goddesses, including the regal status of Hera/Juno, the nurturing quality of Demeter/Ceres, and the fertility and beauty of Venus, founder of the *gen Iulia*. By tapping into the iconographic repertoires of multiple deities that transcended multiple media, these roles could be communicated to a wide audience whose collective cultural experience magnified the potential impact these coins made on the collective consciousness of Roman imperial society. The popular honourific associations between Livia and the divine in the eastern Greek provinces may have been in contrast to the manner in which Livia was portrayed in Rome, but they were incorporated into Livia's visual repertoire as a means of expressing abstract ideological concepts pertaining to Livia's public persona. Such associations also added a degree of familiarity and acquaintance with Livia as a key member of the ruling regime in a way that corresponded to the traditions and tastes of that region.

Despite the regional iconographic variations in Livia's numismatic representations, one overarching theme remained consistent between the coin images of Rome and those of the provinces: Livia's role in the promotion and perpetuation of the ruling imperial dynasty. The fact that Livia was promoted on coins, appearing more than that of any other female imperial family member, marks her as the predominant female and undeniably as the *materfamilias*, not only of the *Domus Augusta*, but also of the state. While Livia's role as "mother" was made explicit in the iconography used in Livia's coin images, the manner in which she is portrayed in relation to other imperial family members, especially men, allows us to gauge visually how Livia's status as *materfamilias* was defined and perceived, but also how such status further endorsed and reinforced imperial rule. Here, the coins provide a perspective of Livia that cannot be obtained through ancient literary sources, which gave mixed reviews of Livia as a mother and as a woman, at times referring to her as cruel, manipulative and capable of murder.¹ The fact that she

appeared in coins and in sculpture more than any other imperial family member (besides the emperor), and most often alongside images of the emperor himself, indicates that she held an unprecedented place of power for a woman. Livia's persona as mother to all subjects of empire served as the model by which all future empresses would be portrayed in visual media.

My study has also attempted to address Kampen's observation that a significant gap exists in the study of gender iconography on Roman coins. As Kampen stated: "No thorough study of gender iconography has been done for Roman coins, but it is clear even from superficial study that the coins use women to express the programmatic concerns of the state and emperor".² While there are several recent works that incorporate coins and their images in the study of Roman women, including those of Angelova, Brännstedt, Levick and Wood, I have taken a more all-encompassing approach to analyzing gender as conveyed by coinage. Using Livia's coins as a case study, I have presented Livia's coin images as gender-based iconographic constructions, which in turn communicated gender roles, as well as the power and status not only of Livia, but of the ruling imperial family as a whole. All images, whether of men or women, in sculpture or on coins, were all visual representations of power mediated through gender-infused image elements. Once again, coins provide a unique opportunity to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the visual construction and communication of gender and gender roles given the range of image types produced for Livia, which exceeds the number of sculptural and cameo examples that survive.

The negotiation of power through Livia's coin images constructed along societal gender lines set Livia apart from other female, and most male, inhabitants of empire. By examining Livia's coin images in relation to those of her male and female relatives, I have shown that Livia was clearly the highest-ranking woman in the Roman world, but she also outranked all other men except for the emperor himself. As a result, the numismatic representations of Livia set the standard for the manner in which female members of Rome's imperial dynasties would be presented as key players in the success and well-being of the Roman Empire as a whole. Associating empresses on coins with goddesses such as Ceres, Vesta and Juno continued and even increased in the dynasties which followed. The concept of the wife or mother of the emperor as mother of the successors, as well as mother of the subjects of empire, continued to be a favoured theme for the representation of imperial women on coins, which culminated in the splendid family portraits that graced the coins of the Antonine empresses Faustina the Elder and the Younger, and with the Severan empress Julia Domna, who was openly labelled "mother of the military camps" on coins of the mint of Rome. The presentation of the empress as a key player in Roman imperial dynastic ideology was explicit, but remained within the boundaries of properly established guidelines that had been established with Livia, and which assimilated empresses metaphorically to the divine figures who symbolized her qualities and social roles.

Yet, my examination of Livia's gender-based coin images has only skimmed the surface of the potential of such a study for understanding how gender and

gender roles were constructed through images. My analyses focused primarily on how Livia's images were specifically constructed, but only took into account a fraction of the coins representing Livia's male relatives that were issued alongside those of Livia. To look at all of the representations of Livia's male relatives is beyond the scope of this study, but is necessary for a more in depth and comprehensive understanding of the design of women's images in relation to those of men and vice versa. My work here has laid the foundations for further examination of gender images on coins and will allow a number of key questions to be answered including how male and female roles of imperial family members were defined and distinguished from one another. In addition, scholars will be able to articulate more clearly the heterarchical nature of male and female power and the blurring of gender-based status and of gender roles.

One particular methodological lesson that I hope can be learned from the research presented here is that the visual representation of an imperial personage must not be examined according to one specific visual medium, such as coins or sculpture, in isolation. What my research has revealed is how intricately interwoven the individual motifs of Livia's visual program were, so much so that the viewer would have readily recognized the figure depicted as Livia, no matter the medium used nor whether she was labelled thus by an accompanying inscription. Scholars such as Bartman, Wood and Winkes have produced detailed and insightful examinations of Livia's representation in sculpture and what this particular medium communicates about Livia, but the study of Livia's coins presented here confirms that the visual program devised for Livia in any particular medium did not develop in a vacuum. Livia's visual program was designed along specific guidelines that were then transferred to various media, which each functioned in tandem to convey the ideological messages intended by those who developed the visual concepts in the first place. The numismatic visual program outlined herein paints a picture of Livia that is distinct, and often in contrast to, the manner in which she is portrayed in literary sources. Therefore, the construction of Livia's gendered identity and multifaceted gender roles in visual media needs to be examined further with special consideration of how Livia's gender and gender roles were portrayed in the literary sources. In the case of Tacitus, Livia's power and gender roles are readily apparent, although painted in a rather negative light, but when considered alongside Livia's visual program will give a more complete and complex picture of the extent of Livia's power and influence in Roman imperial society.

Notes

- 1 Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.3–4, 1.5–6, 1.33.3; Dio 53.33.4, 55.10a.10, 56.30.1–2, 57.3.6.
- 2 Kampen, "Between Public and Private: Women as Historical Subjects in Roman Art", 242.

APPENDIX A

CATALOGUE OF COINS

Rome, Italy and Sicily

Livia with nodus hairstyle

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Hairstyle variant</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Attributes and adjuncts</i>
Rome	<i>RIC</i> I, 404	Augustus	13 BCE	Fayum	NA	NA

Livia with middle part hairstyle

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Hairstyle variant</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Attributes and adjuncts</i>
Rome	<i>RIC</i> I ² , 47; <i>BMCRE</i> I, 82	Tiberius	22–23 CE	Salus	SALVS AVGVSTA	Possibly wearing stola

Livia seated

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Variant (head veiled or unveiled, pose)</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Attributes and adjuncts</i>
Rome	<i>RIC</i> P, 33–36, 37	Tiberius	15–16 CE	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	NA	Patera in right hand and sceptre in left. Feet on stool. Note: <i>RIC</i> 37 shows wreath above figure
	<i>RIC</i> P, 72	Tiberius	Undated, 14–37 CE	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	NA	Patera in right hand and sceptre in left. Feet on stool
	<i>RIC</i> P, 101	Claudius	c. 41–50 CE	Head unveiled, seated left, open pose	DIVA AVGVSTA	Head wearing stephane or wreath. Ears of grain/flowers in right hand and torch in left. Ornate throne, feet on stool
	<i>RIC</i> P, 331–338, 432–433.	Galba	68 CE	Head unveiled, seated left, open pose	AVGVSTA	Patera (or ears of grain) in right hand and sceptre in left. Feet on stool
Paestum	<i>RIC</i> II, 821	Trajan	102–116 CE	Head unveiled, seated right, open pose	NA	Flower in left hand and sceptre in right. Feet on stool
	<i>RPC</i> I, 604	Tiberius	Undated	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	NA	Patera in right hand and sceptre in left
Panormus	<i>RPC</i> I, 645	Tiberius	Undated	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	NA	Patera in right hand and sceptre in left

Livia standing

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Variant (pose)</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Attributes and adjuncts</i>
Rome	<i>RIC</i> P ² , 142–143, 150–153, 184–189, 223–224	Galba	c. July 68 to January 69 CE	Standing facing left	DIVA AVGVSTA	Patera in right hand and sceptre in left

Livia associated with the divine/goddesses

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Goddess or divine</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Attributes and adjuncts</i>
Rome	<i>RIC</i> P ² , 47; <i>BMCRE</i> I, 82	Tiberius	22–23 CE	Livia as Salus	SALVS AVGVSTA	Possibly wearing stola
	<i>RIC</i> P ² , 43; <i>BMCRE</i> I, 98	Tiberius	22–23 CE	Livia as Pietas (?)	NA	Head veiled, wearing stephane
	<i>RIC</i> P ² , 46; <i>BMCRE</i> I, 79	Tiberius	22–23 CE	Livia as Iustitia (?)	NA	Head wearing ornate stephane
	<i>RIC</i> P ² , 101	Claudius	c. 41–50 CE	Livia deified	DIVA AVGVSTA	Head wearing stephane or wreath. Ears of grain/flowers in right hand and torch in left. Ornate throne, feet on stool
	<i>RIC</i> P ² , 331–338, 432–433	Galba	68 CE	Livia deified	AVGVSTA	Patera in right hand and sceptre in left. Feet on stool
	<i>RIC</i> P ² , 142–143, 150–153, 184–189, 223–224	Galba	c. July 68 to January 69 CE	Livia deified	DIVA AVGVSTA	Patera in right hand and sceptre in left
	<i>RIC</i> II ² .1, 405–406 and 424–425	Titus	80–81 CE	Livia as Iustitia (?)	NA	Head wearing stephane
	<i>RIC</i> II ² .1, 407–408 and 426–429	Titus	80–81 CE	Livia as Pietas (?)	NA	Head veiled, wearing stephane
	<i>RIC</i> II ² .1, 409 and 430	Titus	80–81	Livia as Salus	SALVS AVGVSTA AVGVS	
	<i>RPC</i> I, 642–643	Tiberius	Undated	Livia as Pietas (?)		Head veiled

Other significant coins referring to Livia

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Coin image	Significant titles	Adjuncts and attributes
Rome	<i>RIC</i> I ² , 51	Tiberius	22–23 CE	Carpentum decorated with Victories and other figures, drawn by two mules	S P Q R / IVLIAE / AVGVS	NA
	<i>RIC</i> III, 143–144, 272 a and b, 289 a-c, 290 a-c, 305 a-c, and 755, 787, 797 a-b, 796, 829, 870, 873, 973, 978, 988, 998, 998a, 1003, 1003a, 1004, 1013, 1017, 1021a-b, 1024, 1024a, 1025, 1040, 1061; <i>BMCRE</i> III, 549.	Antoninus Pius	145–161 CE	Octostyle temple with statues of Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta (Livia) between columns	NA	NA

Livia with male counterparts

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Male counterparts (Jugate or facing)	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Rome	<i>RIC</i> I ² , 44–45	Nero	64–65 CE	Deified Augustus (?) and Livia (?) standing side by side. Also interpreted as Nero and his wife Poppaea	AVGVSTA	Female figure, head veiled, holding cornucopiae

Asia

Livia with nodus hairstyle

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Hairstyle variant</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Attributes and adjuncts</i>
Alabanda	<i>RPC</i> I, 2807 <i>RPC</i> I, 2808	Augustus (?) Augustus (?)	Undated Undated	Fayum (?) Fayum (?)	NA NA	NA Circular diadem
Antioch ad Macandrum	<i>RPC</i> I, 2809 <i>RPC</i> I, 2816 <i>RPC</i> I, 2829	Augustus (?) Augustus (?) Augustus	Undated Undated Undated	Lengthwise fold Fayum (?) Lengthwise fold	NA ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ NA	NA NA NA
Apamea	<i>RPC</i> I, 3132	Tiberius	Undated	Fayum	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ	NA
Clazomenae	<i>RPC</i> I, 2496	Augustus	Undated	Marbury Hall	ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ	NA
Ephesus	<i>RPC</i> I, 2576, 2580	Augustus	Early in reign	Marbury Hall (?)	NA	NA
Eucarpia	<i>RPC</i> I, 3160	Tiberius	Undated	Fayum (?)	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ	NA
Eumenia	<i>RPC</i> I, 3148	Tiberius	Undated	Fayum	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ	NA
Magnesia ad Macandrum	<i>RPC</i> I, 2699	Tiberius	Undated	Fayum	ΙΟΥΛΙΑ [CEBA]CTH	NA
Magnesia ad Sipyllum	<i>RPC</i> I, 2450	Augustus	c. 2 BCE	Marbury Hall	NA	NA
Mastaura	<i>RPC</i> I, 2673	Tiberius	Undated	Marbury Hall	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΣ ΜΑΣΤΑΥΡΙΑΙ	NA
Methymna	<i>RPC</i> I, 2338	Augustus	Undated	Zopfityp	ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ	NA
Nysa	<i>RPC</i> I, 2662	Augustus	Undated	Fayum (?)	NA	NA
Pergamum	<i>RPC</i> I, 2359	Augustus	c. 10 BCE – before 2 BCE	Zopfityp	ΛΙΒΙΑΝ ΗΠΑΝ ΧΑΡΙΝΟΣ	NA

Livia with middle part hairstyle

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Hairstyle variant</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Attributes and adjuncts</i>
Aezani Aprodisias- Plarasa	<i>RPC</i> I, 3071	Tiberius	c. 19–23 CE	Salus		
	<i>RPC</i> I, 2840	Tiberius	c. 14–29 CE	Salus	CEBACTH	NA
Apollonia	<i>RPC</i> I, 2865	Tiberius	Undated	Salus	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ	NA
Salbace Cibyra	<i>RPC</i> I, 2886	Tiberius	c. 15/16 CE	Salus (?)	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ	NA
	<i>RPC</i> I, 2888	Tiberius	Undated	Salus	ΚΙΒΥΡΑΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ	NA
Eumeneia Magnesia ad Sipylum	<i>RPC</i> I, 3143	Augustus	Undated	Loose Chignon	ΗΡΑ Λ(Ε)ΒΙΑ	NA
	<i>RPC</i> I, 2452	Tiberius	After 17 CE	Salus	CEBACTHN	NA
Mytilene	<i>RPC</i> I, 2453	Tiberius	After 17 CE	Salus	ΘΕΑΝ CEBACTHN	NA
	<i>RPC</i> I, 2345	Tiberius	c. 35 CE	Salus	ΙΟΥ ΘΕΑ CEBACTH	NA
Pergamum Smyrna	<i>RPC</i> I, 2369	Tiberius	c. 30 CE (?)	Salus	CEBACTOI	NA
	<i>RPC</i> I, 2469	Tiberius	c. 29–35 CE	Diva Augusta	CEBACTH	Livia wearing stephane.
Tripolis	<i>RPC</i> I, 3053	Tiberius	Undated	Salus, but with lock of hair along back of neck	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ	NA

Livia seated

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Variant (head veiled or unveiled, pose)</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Attributes and adjuncts</i>
Magnesia ad Macandrum	<i>RPC</i> I, 2697	Tiberius	Undated	Unveiled, seated right, open pose	NA	Sceptre in right hand and branch in left
Mysomakedones	<i>RPC</i> I, 2568	Tiberius	14–29 CE	Unveiled, seated right, open pose	CEBACTH	Sceptre in right hand and branch in left
Pergamum	<i>RPC</i> I, 2368	Tiberius (or Augustus)	Before 29 CE	Unveiled, seated right, open pose	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝ ΠΙΕΡΤΑΜΗΝΩΝ	Sceptre in right hand and ears of grain in left
Poemanenum	<i>RPC</i> I, 2252	Tiberius (?)	Undated	Unveiled, seated right, open pose	NA	Sceptre in right hand and branch in left
Sardis	<i>RPC</i> I, 2991	Tiberius	Undated	Unveiled, seated right, open pose	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ	Sceptre in right hand and ears of grain in left

Livia standing

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Variant (pose)</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Attributes and adjuncts</i>
Smyrna	<i>RPC</i> I, 2467	Augustus	c. 4–14 CE	Livia as Aphrodite Stratonikis, front facing pose	ΛΙΒΙΑΝ ΖΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΚΟΡΩΝΟC	Holding sceptre in right hand and Nike on column in left. Dove in right field
Tralles	<i>RPC</i> I, 2647–2648	Augustus	c. 2 BCE	Livia as Demeter, front facing pose, right hand raised	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ Λ(Ε) ΙΒΙΑ	Holding ears of grain and flowers in left hand. Crescent in right field

Livia associated with the divine/goddesses

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Goddess or divine	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Clazomenae Eumeneae Magnesia ad Sipylum	<i>RPC</i> I, 2496	Augustus	Undated	Divine Livia	ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ	
	<i>RPC</i> I, 3143	Augustus	Undated	Hera	ΗΡΑ Λ(Ε)ΙΒΙΑ	
	<i>RPC</i> I, 2453	Tiberius	After 17 CE	Divine Augusta	ΘΕΑΝ CEBACTHN	
Methymna	<i>RPC</i> I, 2338	Augustus	Undated	Divine Livia	ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ	
Mytilene	<i>RPC</i> I, 2345	Tiberius	c. 35 CE	Divine Iulia Augusta	ΙΟΥ ΘΕΑ CEBACTH	
Pergamum	<i>RPC</i> I, 2359	Augustus	c. 10 BCE – before 2 BCE	Hera	ΛΙΒΙΑΝ ΗΡΑΝ ΧΑΡΙΝΟΣ	
Smyrna	<i>RPC</i> I, 2467	Augustus	c. 4–14 CE	Aphrodite Stratonikis	ΛΙΒΙΑΝ ΖΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ	Holding sceptre and Nike. Dove in right field
Tralles	<i>RPC</i> I, 2647–2648	Augustus	c. 2 BCE	Demeter	ΚΟΡΩΝΟC ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ ΛΕΙΒΙΑ	Holding ears of grain and flowers. Crescent in right field

Livia with male counterparts

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Male counterparts (Jugate or facing)	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Alabanda	<i>RPC</i> I, 2816	Augustus	Undated	Head of Augustus facing head of Livia on obverse, jugate busts of Gaius and Lucius facing head of Augustus (or Agrippa ?) on reverse	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ	
Aphrodisias-Plarasa	<i>RPC</i> I, 2842	Tiberius	c. 14–29 CE	Heads of Tiberius and Livia jugate	CEBACTOI	Livia laureate, possibly wearing necklace

Ephesus	<i>RPC</i> I, 2581- 2583. See additional multiple references <i>RPC</i> I, pp. 435–437.	Augustus	Early in reign	Heads of Augustus and Livia jugate	
Magnesia ad Sipylum	<i>RPC</i> I, 2449	Augustus	c. 2 BCE	Heads of Augustus and Livia jugate on obverse, heads of Gaius and Lucius facing on reverse	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ
	<i>RPC</i> I, 2452	Tiberius	After 17 CE	Bust of Senate on obverse, bust of Livia on reverse	CEBACTHN ΜΑΓΝΗΤΕC ΑΠ(Ο) C(IIIY)
Mastaura	<i>RPC</i> I, 2453	Tiberius	After 17 CE	Bust of Senate on obverse, bust of Livia on reverse	ΘΕΑΝ CEBACTHN
Mylasa	<i>RPC</i> I, 2673	Tiberius	Undated	Head of Tiberius facing bust of Livia	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥC
Nysa	<i>RPC</i> I, 2782	Augustus?	Undated	Heads of Augustus (?) and Livia (?) jugate	
Pergamum	<i>RPC</i> I, 2663	Augustus	Undated	Heads of Augustus and Livia jugate	
	<i>RPC</i> I, 2369	Tiberius	c. 30 CE (?)	Bust of Livia facing head of Tiberius. Reverse has temple enclosing statue of Augustus	CEBACTOI
Smyrna	<i>RPC</i> I, 2464 and 2466	Augustus	c. 10 BCE	Heads of Augustus and Livia jugate	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ
	<i>RPC</i> I, 2469	Tiberius	c. 29–35 CE	Bust of Senate facing bust of Livia. Reverse has temple enclosing statue of the emperor	CEBACTH
Tripolis	<i>RPC</i> I, 3054	Tiberius	Undated	Heads of Tiberius and Livia jugate	ΙΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΙCΑΡΑΙ

Achaea, Cyprus and Crete

Livia with nodus hairstyle

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Hairstyle variant	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Chalcis	RPC I, 1346, 1348	Augustus	Undated	Fayum (?)	NA	NA
Sparta Thessalian League	RPC I, 1105	Augustus	c. 31–2 BCE	Fayum (?)	NA	NA
	RPC I, 1427	Augustus	Undated	Fayum (?)	HPA AEIOYIA	Possibly wearing diadem

Livia with middle part hairstyle

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Hairstyle variant	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Corinth	RPC I, 1153, 1154, 1159	Tiberius	32–33 CE	Salus	NA	NA
Thessalian League	RPC I, 1438	Tiberius	Undated	Salus	NA	NA
Cnossus	RPC I, 988	Tiberius	c. 20–29 CE	Salus (?)	IVLIA AVG	NA

Livia seated

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Variant (head veiled or unveiled, pose)	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Corinth	RPC I, 1149	Tiberius	21–22 CE	Veiled, seated right, reserved pose	NA	Possibly diademed, patera in right hand and sceptre in left
	RPC I, 1150	Tiberius	21–22 CE	Veiled, seated left, open pose	NA	Sceptre in left hand and ears of grain in right

Thessalian League Cyprus	<i>RPC</i> I, 1431	Tiberius	Undated	Unveiled, seated right, open pose	ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΩΝ	Sceptre in right hand and branch in left
	<i>RPC</i> I, 3919	Tiberius	After 15/16 CE	Veiled, seated right, reserved pose	IVLIA AVGVSTA	Patera in right hand and sceptre in left. Feet on stool
	<i>RPC</i> I, 3920	Tiberius	22/23 CE	Unveiled, seated right, reserved pose	NA	Patera in right hand and sceptre in left. Feet on stool
Cnossus	<i>RPC</i> I, 986	Tiberius	c. 20 CE	Veiled, seated right, reserved pose	IVLIA AVGVS	Patera in right hand and sceptre or torch in left. Feet on stool(?)

Livia associated with the divine/goddesses

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Goddess or divine</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Attributes and adjuncts</i>
Corinth	<i>RPC</i> I, 1155, 1156 and 1161	Tiberius	32–33 CE	Livia as Pietas (?)	NA	Head veiled
Thessalian League	<i>RPC</i> I, 1427	Augustus	Undated	Hera	HPA ΑΕΙΟΥΙΑ	Possibly wearing diadem
	<i>RPC</i> I, 1434	Tiberius	Undated	Livia as Pietas (?)	ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΩΝ	Head veiled and diademed
Koinon of Crete	<i>RPC</i> I, 1030	Claudius	c. 41–43 CE	Livia deified	ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΑ	Head wearing ornate stephane

Macedonia

Livia with nodus hairstyle

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Hairstyle variant	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Edessa	RPC I, 1525	Tiberius	Undated	Zopftyp	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΕΛΕΣΣΑΙΩΝ	NA
	RPC I, 1526–1527	Tiberius	Undated	Fayum (?)	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΕΛΕΣΣΑΙΩΝ	NA
Thessalonica	RPC I, 1563	Augustus	c. 20 BCE	Marbury Hall	ΘΕΑ or ΘΕΟΥ ΛΙΒΙΑ	NA

Livia with middle part hairstyle

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Hairstyle v	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Pella or Dium Thessalonica	RPC I, 1538	Tiberius	Undated	Loose Chignon	NA	NA
	RPC I, 1567	Tiberius	Undated	Salus	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ	Head wearing laurel crown
	RPC I, 1568	Tiberius	Undated	Loose Chignon	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ	Head wearing ornate stephane
	RPC I, 1570–1571	Tiberius	Undated	Salus (?)	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ	Head veiled and wearing stephane

Livia seated

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Variant (head veiled or unveiled, pose)	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Dium Thessalonica	RPC I, 1506	Tiberius	Undated	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	NA	Patera in right hand and sceptre in left
	RPC I, 1569	Tiberius	Undated	Head unveiled, seated left, open pose	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝ(Ε)ΙΚΕΩΝ	Patera in right hand and sceptre in left. Feet on stool

Livia associated with the divine/goddesses

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Goddess or divine	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Amphipolis	RPC I, 1634	Tiberius	Undated	Divine	ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΑ	Head veiled
Pella or Dium	RPC I, 1542	Tiberius	After 22–23 CE	Livia as Pietas/ Iustitia	PIETAS AVGUSTA	Head wearing ornate stephane
	RPC I, 1543	Tiberius	After 22–23 CE	Livia as Pietas (?)	PIETAS	Head veiled
Thessalonica	RPC I, 1563	Augustus	c. 20 BCE	Divine	ΘΕΑ or ΘΕΟΥ ΛΙΒΙΑ	NA
	RPC I, 1566	Tiberius	Undated	Demeter	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ	Demeter carrying torches and driving serpent drawn chariot

Bithynia-Pontus, Thrace and Moesia

Livia with middle part hairstyle

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Hairstyle variant	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Byzantium (Thrace)	RPC I, 1779	Tiberius	c. 20s CE	Salus	ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΑ BYZ	NA

Livia seated

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Variant (head veiled or unveiled, pose)	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Sinope (Pontus) Uncertain mint (Bithynia-Pontus)	RPC I, 2126	Tiberius	17/18 (or 18/19) CE	Veiled, seated right, reserved pose	NA	Patera in right hand and sceptre in left
	RPC I, 2097	Augustus	July or August 14 CE	Unveiled, seated right, reserved pose	NA	Holding double cornucopiae on lap

Livia associated with the divine/goddesses

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Goddess or divine	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Byzantium (Thrace)	RPC I, 1779	Tiberius	c. 20s CE	Divine	ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΑ BYZ	NA

Livia with male counterparts

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Male counterparts (Jugate or facing)	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Uncertain (Bithynia- Pontus) Thrace (King Rhoemetaces I) Tomi (Moesia)	RPC I, 2097	Augustus	July or August 14 CE	Augustus (or Tiberius?) and Livia jugate	NA	NA
	RPC I, 1708–1710	Augustus	c. 11 BCE–12 CE	Augustus and Livia jugate	NA	Capricorn and globe in field
	RPC I, 1823	Augustus	Undated	Augustus and Livia jugate	NA	NA

Syria

Livia with nodus hairstyle

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Hairstyle variant	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Augusta	RPC I, 4006	Tiberius	After 20 CE	Fayum	ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΑΝΩΝ	NA
	RPC I, 4007	Tiberius	After 20 CE	Fayum	NA	NA
	RPC I, 4008	Tiberius	After 20 CE	Fayum (?)	NA	NA
	RPC I, 4009	Tiberius	After 20 CE	Fayum (?)	ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΚΕΒΑΣΤΗ	NA
	RPC I, 4010	Tiberius	After 20 CE	Fayum	NA	NA
	RPC I, 4013–4014	Nero	67/68 CE	Fayum	ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ	NA

Livia with middle part hairstyle

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Hairstyle variant	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Augusta Mallus Mopsus	RPC I, 4011	Tiberius	After 20 CE	Salus	NA	Head wearing diadem
	RPC I, 4016	Tiberius (?)	Undated	Salus	NA	NA
	RPC I, 4049	Tiberius	Undated	Salus	ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΜΟ[ΥΕΑΤΩΝ]	NA

Livia seated

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Variant (head veiled or unveiled, pose)	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Tarsus	RPC I, 4005	Tiberius	Undated	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΗΡΑΣ ΜΗΤΡ	Ears of grain and flowers in right hand. Feet on stool

Livia associated with the divine/goddesses

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Goddess or divine	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Mopsus	RPC I, 4049	Tiberius	Undated	Divine	ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΜΟ[ΥΕΑΤΩΝ]	NA
Tarsus	RPC I, 4005	Tiberius	Undated	Hera and Ceres	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΗΡΑΣ ΜΗΤΡ	Ears of grain and flowers in right hand

Livia as mother

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Coin image	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Tarsus	RPC I, 4005	Tiberius	Undated	Livia seated with head veiled.	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΗΡΑΣ ΜΗΤΡ	Ears of grain and flowers in right hand

Other significant coins referring to Livia

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Coin image	Significant titles	Adjuncts and attributes
Augusta	RPC I, 4007	Tiberius	After 20 CE	Livia obverse, Capricorn reverse	ΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΑΝΩΝ	Capricorn holding globe, star above

Judaeae Kingdom

Livia with middle part hairstyle

Authority	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Hairstyle variant	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Philip (4–34 CE)	RPC I, 4949	Tiberius	30/31 CE	Salus	ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ	

Livia with male counterparts

Authority	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Male counterparts (Jugate or facing)	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Philip (4–34 CE)	RPC I, 4951.	Tiberius	22/23 CE	Tiberius and Livia jugate	ΣΕΒΑΣ[	

Other significant coins referring to Livia

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Coin image	Significant titles	Adjuncts and attributes
Jerusalem	RPC I, 4959	Tiberius	15 CE	Livia's name in wreath on obverse	ΙΟΥΛΙΑ	Reverse depicts laurel branch
	RPC I, 4961	Tiberius	16 CE	Livia's name in wreath on obverse	ΙΟΥΛΙΑ	Reverse depicts three lilies
	RPC I, 4963	Tiberius	17 CE	Livia's name alongside vine branch and leaves on obverse	ΙΟΥΛΙΑ	Reverse depicts vase with handles
	RPC I, 4964–4966	Tiberius	17 CE	Livia's name alongside palm branch on reverse	ΙΟΥΛΙΑ	NA
	RPC I, 4967	Tiberius	29 CE	Livia's name alongside three ears of grain on reverse	ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΩΣ	

Egypt and Africa

Livia with nodus hairstyle

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Hairstyle variant	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Alexandria	RPC I, 5006	Augustus	After 19 BCE	Lengthwise fold (?)	AIOYIA CEBACTOY	NA
	RPC I, 5008	Augustus	After 19 BCE	Fayum	AIOYIA CEBACTOY	NA
	RPC I, 5027	Augustus	c. 1–5 CE	Fayum	NA	NA
	RPC I, 5042, 5046	Augustus	9/10 CE	Fayum	NA	NA
	RPC I, 5043, 5047	Augustus	9/10 CE	Fayum	NA	NA
	RPC I, 5053, 5063	Augustus	10/11 CE	Fayum	NA	NA
	RPC I, 5054, 5058, 5064, 5068	Augustus	10/11 CE	Fayum	NA	NA
	RPC I, 5055, 5065	Augustus	10/11 CE	Fayum	NA	NA
	RPC I, 5072	Augustus	12/13 CE	Fayum	NA	NA
	RPC I, 5079	Tiberius	17/18 CE	Fayum	NA	NA
	RPC I, 5080	Tiberius	17/18 CE	Fayum	NA	NA
	RPC I, 5086	Tiberius	18/19 CE	Fayum	NA	NA
	RPC I, 5088	Tiberius	19/20 CE	Fayum	NA	NA

Livia with middle part hairstyle

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Hairstyle variant	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Oea	RPC I, 833	Tiberius	After 22–23 CE	Salus	NA	Peacock in right field and ear of grain in left field
	RPC I, 835	Tiberius	After 22–23 CE	Salus	NA	NA

Livia seated

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Variant (head veiled or unveiled, pose)</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Attributes and adjuncts</i>
Carthage – Colonia Iulia Concordia Karthago	<i>RPC</i> I, 754, 755	Tiberius	c. 16–31 CE	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	NA	Holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left
	<i>RPC</i> I, 763	Tiberius	21 CE	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	NA	Holding ears of grain in right hand and sceptre in left
Carthage – Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna	<i>RPC</i> I, 766, 769	Tiberius	23 CE	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	NA	Holding ears of grain in right hand and sceptre in left
	<i>RPC</i> I, 711	Tiberius	20–21 CE	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	IVL AVG	Holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. Feet on stool
Hippo Regius	<i>RPC</i> I, 849, 850	Tiberius	21–30 CE	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	AVGVSTA MATER PATRIA	Holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. Feet on stool
Lepcis Magna	<i>RPC</i> I, 795	Tiberius	16–21 CE	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	CERERI AVGVSTAE THAMPSITANI.	Holding ears of grain in right hand and sceptre in left.
Thapsus	<i>RPC</i> I, 797	Tiberius	16–21 CE	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	THAPSVM IVN AVG	Modius in right field
	<i>RPC</i> I, 721–726	Tiberius	16–21 CE	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	NA	Holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. Feet on stool
	<i>RPC</i> I, 731–735	Tiberius	27–28 CE	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	NA	Holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. Feet on stool
	<i>RPC</i> I, 736–738	Tiberius	28–29 CE	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	NA	Holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left
	<i>RPC</i> I, 739–744	Tiberius	29–30 CE	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	NA	Holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. Some with feet on stool

Livia associated with the divine/gods/goddesses

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Goddess or divine</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Attributes and adjuncts</i>
Alexandria	<i>RPC I</i> , 5006	Augustus	After 19 BCE	Ceres	ΛΙΟΥΙΑ CEBACTOY	Double cornucopiae reverse
	<i>RPC I</i> , 5008	Augustus	After 19 BCE	Jupiter	ΛΙΟΥΙΑ CEBACTOY	Eagle on reverse = association with Augustus
	<i>RPC I</i> , 5027	Augustus	c. 1–5 CE	Ceres	NA	Cornucopia with fillet
	<i>RPC I</i> , 5042, 5046	Augustus	9/10 CE	Jupiter	NA	Oak wreath on reverse = association with Augustus
	<i>RPC I</i> , 5043, 5047	Augustus	9/10 CE	Demeter	NA	Modius and torches on reverse
	<i>RPC I</i> , 5053, 5063	Augustus	10/11 CE	Euthenia	NA	Bust of Euthenia on reverse
	<i>RPC I</i> , 5054, 5058, 5064, 5068	Augustus	10/11 CE	Jupiter	NA	Oak wreath on reverse = association with Augustus
	<i>RPC I</i> , 5055, 5065	Augustus	10/11 CE	Athena	NA	Athena standing on reverse
	<i>RPC I</i> , 5072	Augustus	12/13 CE	Athena	NA	Athena standing on reverse
	<i>RPC I</i> , 5079	Tiberius	17/18 CE	Ceres	NA	Ears of grain and poppies on reverse
	<i>RPC I</i> , 5080	Tiberius	17/18 CE	Divus Augustus	NA	Crescent and star on reverse
	<i>RPC I</i> , 5086	Tiberius	18/19 CE	Ceres	NA	Ears of grain and poppies on reverse
Carthage – Colonia Iulia Pia Paterna	<i>RPC I</i> , 5088	Tiberius	19/20 CE	Juno	NA	Peacock on reverse
	<i>RPC I</i> , 763	Tiberius	21 CE	Ceres	NA	Holding ears of grain in right hand and sceptre in left
	<i>RPC I</i> , 766, 769	Tiberius	23 CE	Ceres	NA	Holding ears of grain in right hand and sceptre in left
	<i>RPC I</i> , 833	Tiberius	After 22–23 CE	Juno and Ceres	NA	Peacock in right field and ear of grain in left field
Oea	<i>RPC I</i> , 795	Tiberius	16–21 CE	Ceres	CERERI AVGVSTAE THAMPSITANI. field	Holding ears of grain in right hand and sceptre in left. Modius in right field

(continued)

(continued)

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Goddess or divine	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Utica	RPC I, 797	Tiberius	16–21 CE	Juno	THAPSVM IVN AVG	Holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. Feet on stool
	RPC I, 796	Tiberius	16–21 CE	Juno	THAPSVM IVN AVG	Head wearing diadem and veil
	RPC I, 729–730	Tiberius	16–21 CE	Livia as Pietas (?)	NA	Head veiled, wearing stephane

Livia as mother

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Coin image	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Lepcis Magna	RPC I, 849, 850	Tiberius	21–30 CE	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	AVGVSTA MATER PATRIA	Holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. Feet on stool

Spain and Gaul

Livia with middle part hairstyle

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Hairstyle variant	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Emerita	RPC I, 38	Tiberius	Undated	Salus	SALVS AVGVSTA	NA
Colonia Romula	RPC I, 40	Tiberius	Undated	Salus	IVLIA AVGVSTA	NA
	RPC I, 73	Tiberius	Undated	Salus	IVLIA AVGVSTA GENETRIX ORBIS	Wearing laurel crown, head resting on globe, crescent above

Livia seated

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Variant (head veiled or unveiled, pose)</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Attributes and adjuncts</i>
Lugdunum	<i>RIC</i> I ² , 219–220	Augustus	13–14 CE	Head unveiled, seated right, open pose	NA	Holding sceptre in right hand and branch in left
	<i>RIC</i> I ² , 25–26, 30	Tiberius	Undated, c. 14–37 CE	Head unveiled, seated right, open pose	NA	Holding sceptre in right hand and branch in left
	<i>RIC</i> I ² , 27–28	Tiberius	Undated, c. 14–37 CE	Head unveiled, seated right, open pose	NA	Holding inverted spear in right hand and branch in left
Caesaraugusta	<i>RPC</i> I, 341	Tiberius	Undated	Head veiled, seated right, reserved pose	IVLIA AVGVSTA	Holding patera in right hand and sceptre in left. Feet resting on double stools
Emerita	<i>RPC</i> I, 39	Tiberius	Undated	Head unveiled, seated right, reserved pose	IVLIA AVGVSTA	Holding patera (?) in right hand and sceptre or torch in left. Feet on stool
Irippo	<i>RPC</i> I, 55	Augustus	Undated	Head unveiled, seated left, open pose	NA	Holding pine cone in right hand and cornucopia in left
Italica	<i>RPC</i> I, 66–67	Tiberius	Undated	Head unveiled, seated left, open pose	IVLIA AVGVSTA	Holding patera in right hand and sceptre resting in left arm. Seated on a very ornate throne
Pax Iulia	<i>RPC</i> I, 52	Augustus	Undated	Head unveiled, seated left, open pose	NA	Holding caduceus in right hand and cornucopia resting in left arm

Livia standing

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Variant (pose)</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Attributes and adjuncts</i>
Tarraco	<i>RIC</i> 12, 13–14, 36, 52, 55, 65–67	Galba	c. July 68 to January 69 CE	Standing facing left	DIVA AVGVSTA	Patera in right hand and sceptre in left

Livia associated with the divine/goddesses

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Coin reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Goddess or divine</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Attributes and adjuncts</i>
Gallia Comata (?)	<i>RPC</i> 1, 538	Tiberius	After 22–23 CE	Juno and Ceres	NA	Head veiled and wearing a stephane. Portrait surrounded by a wreath of grain
Caesaraugusta	<i>RPC</i> 1, 362–363	Tiberius	Undated, but perhaps after Livia's death in 29 CE	Livia as Pietas	PIETATIS AVGVSTAE	Head veiled and wearing a stephane
Emerita	<i>RPC</i> 1, 38–39	Tiberius	Undated	Livia as Salus (obverse), Ceres (reverse)	SALVS AVGVSTA (obverse), IVLIA AVGVSTA (reverse)	Holding patera (?) in right hand and sceptre or torch in left. Feet on stool
Irippto	<i>RPC</i> 1, 55	Augustus	Undated	Ceres and/or Fortuna	NA	Holding pine cone in right hand and cornucopia in left
Pax Iulia	<i>RPC</i> 1, 52	Augustus	Undated	Ceres, Fortuna, and/or Salus	NA	Holding caduceus in right hand and cornucopia resting in left arm
Colonia Romula	<i>RPC</i> 1, 73	Tiberius	Undated	Venus, Luna	IVLIA AVGVSTA GENETRIX ORBIS	Wearing laurel crown, head resting on globe, crescent above

Livia as mother

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Coin image	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Colonia Romula	RPC I, 73	Tiberius	Undated	Portrait of Livia.	IVLIA AVGVSTA GENETRIX ORBIS	Wearing laurel crown, head resting on globe, crescent above

Livia with male counterparts

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Male counterparts (Jugate or facing)	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Tarraco	RPC I, 233	Tiberius	22–23 CE	Head of Drusus facing head of Livia on reverse	IVL AVGVSTA	NA

Uncertain coins

Mint	Coin reference	Emperor	Date	Image	Significant titles	Attributes and adjuncts
Uncertain	RPC I, 5434	Uncertain	Undated	Portrait of Livia on obverse, and one of Julia on reverse	NA	NA
	RPC I, 5435	Uncertain	Undated	Portrait of Livia on obverse, Cybele seated on reverse	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ	NA
	RPC I, 5436	Uncertain	Undated	Obverse portrait of Livia as Pietas	NA	NA

APPENDIX B

ILLUSTRATED CONSPECTUS OF LIVIA'S COIN PORTRAITS

Livia's nodus hairstyle

Marbury Hall

Characterized by a prominent nodus atop the head from which extends a distinctive braid that runs down the centre of the crown of the head to the chignon or bun located at the base of the head. A braid wraps around the chignon. Gentle, but defined, waves of hair frame the face.



Figure B.1 Drawing by Carrie Allen.

Lengthwise fold

Rather than a braid, a prominent fold of hair runs the length of the crown from the forehead to the chignon, with the fold creating a nodus-like bulge atop the forehead. Gentle waves of hair frame the face.



Figure B.2 Drawing by Carrie Allen.

Zopftyp

A relaxed nodus sits atop the forehead. Braids encircle the head from behind the nodus to the chignon at the base of the head forming a diadem-like crown. A lock of hair falls in a loose wave or curl from behind the ear.



Figure B.3 Drawing by Carrie Allen.

Fayum/Albani Bonn

Characterized by a prominent nodus atop the head from which extends a flat plait or band of hair, rather than a braid as in the Marbury Hall variant, running down the centre of the crown of the head to the chignon or bun located at the base of the head. A braid wraps around the chignon. Gentle, but defined, waves of hair frame the face.



Figure B.4 Drawing by Carrie Allen.

Livia's middle part hairstyle

Salus

Characterized by loosely set waves of hair that frame the face, as well as gentle waves that extend down from the centre of the crown of the head. The hair meets at the base of the head in a chignon composed of a braid, which itself is also wrapped in a braid. Occasional wisps of hair peek out from atop the forehead or along the neck behind the ear.



Figure B.5 Drawing by Carrie Allen.

Diva Augusta

A more elegant version of the Salus variant, this variant is characterized by multiple distinctively deep-set waves or curls that frame the face and extend down along the head from the middle part. The hair meets at the base of the head in a braided chignon. This hairstyle echoes that worn by goddesses.



Figure B.6 Drawing by Carrie Allen.

Loose chignon

A much more relaxed variant of the middle part hairstyle where a gentle wave of hair loosely frames the face. The hair meets at the base of the head in a very loose chignon that drapes down the back of the neck. A lock of hair coils down from behind the ear and along the neck.



Figure B.7 Drawing by Carrie Allen.

APPENDIX C

EPIGRAPHIC DATA

This compilation of inscriptions pertaining to Livia is not comprehensive, but instead focuses on those inscriptions that are most relevant in relation to the coins. Preference has been given to inscriptions from the same cities in which coins of Livia were minted, as well as those that have noteworthy titles for Livia that are echoed on coins elsewhere in the region or province. For a more complete list of inscriptions regarding Livia, see Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, 265–293.

Rome, Italy and Sicily

Livia as wife and mother

<i>Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Monument (if known)</i>
Rome (or Pavia?)	Bartman, <i>Portraits of Livia</i> , p. 201, no. 18.	Augustus	7–8 CE	Wife of Caesar Augustus	Statues to Augustus and Livia
Superaequum	<i>CIL</i> 9.3304	Augustus	After 4 CE	Wife of Augustus and mother of Tiberius	Statue base
Tibur	<i>ILS</i> 1.118, <i>CIL</i> 14.3575	Augustus	Augustan	Wife of Caesar Augustus	Statue base
Luceria	<i>CIL</i> 9.787	Tiberius	After 15 CE	Wife of Deified Augustus	Statue base
Velleia	<i>CIL</i> 1.1165	Caligula	c. 37–41 CE	Livia as daughter of the deified Augustus, mother of Tiberius	Marble plaque from a statue

Livia associated with goddesses or personifications

Location	Reference	Emperor	Date	Significant titles	Monument (if known)
Aeclanum Falerii	<i>CIL</i> 9.1098	Augustus or Tiberius	Undated	Juno Augusta or Augustan Juno	Statue base (?)
	<i>CIL</i> 11.3076	Augustus	After 4 CE	To the Genius of Augustus and Tiberius and the Juno of Livia	Statue base
Interamna	<i>ILS</i> 157	Tiberius	Tiberian or later	For the health of the perpetual Augusta (connection to Salus)	Statue base
Pompeii	<i>CIL</i> 10.1023	Tiberius	After 15 CE	To Julia Augusta, Juno and Tyche	

Livia as Diva Augusta

Location	Reference	Emperor	Date	Significant titles	Monument (if known)
Haluntium, Sicily Hereulaneum	<i>ILS</i> 119, <i>CIL</i> 10.7464	Claudius	Undated	To Livia as Diva Augusta	Dedication
	<i>ILS</i> 123	Claudius	c. 41–54 CE	To Livia as Diva Augusta	Part of an imperial statue group
Suara, Tarracina	<i>CIL</i> 10.6309	Tiberius (or Claudius?)	Undated	Refers to son of Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta	

Asia

Livia as wife and mother

Location	Reference	Emperor	Date	Significant titles	Monument (if known)
Ephesus	<i>ILS</i> 8897	Augustus	3 BCE	Wife of Caesar Augustus	Dedication of bronze statues
	<i>AE</i> 1904, no. 98	Augustus	Undated	Wife of Caesar Augustus	
Mytilene	<i>IGR</i> 4.39	Augustus	After 27 BCE	Wife of Augustus	
	<i>AE</i> 1976, no. 185	Tiberius	After 15 CE	Wife of the Deified Augustus	
Smyrna	<i>IGR</i> 4.1392, <i>CIL</i> 3.7107	Tiberius	14–37 CE	Wife of Caesar Augustus and mother of Tiberius	Dedication

Livia as divine or associated with goddesses or personifications

<i>Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Monument (if known)</i>
Attouda, Caria Cyzicus	<i>AE</i> 1940, no. 184 <i>AE</i> 1904, no. 98	Augustus Augustus	3–10 CE 15 BCE – 14 CE	Livia as goddess (Θεα) To Augustus as a god and to the goddess Livia Demeter	Statue dedication Relief stele with dedicatory inscription
Eresos, Lesbos Lampsacus	<i>IG</i> 12, supp. 124 <i>IGR</i> 4.180	Augustus Tiberius	Undated Tiberian or later	Livia as Pronoia (Providentia) Livia as Julia Augusta, the new Hestia Demeter	Decree pertaining to a statue
Assos	<i>IGR</i> 4.249	Augustus or Tiberius	Undated	Livia as goddess, the new Hera, wife of the god Augustus	Marble inscription from the gymnasium
Antiocheia, Psidia Aphrodisias	<i>AE</i> 1941, no. 142 Hahn, <i>Die Frauen des römische Kaiserhauses</i> , 77.	Tiberius Tiberius	Undated Undated	To the goddess Julia Augusta Livia as goddess (Θεα) Julia Augusta	
Imbros Myra, Lycia	<i>IG</i> 2.8.65 <i>IGR</i> 3.720	Tiberius Tiberius	Undated Undated	To Livia as Hygeia/Salus Livia as goddess (Θεα) Julia Augusta	Statue base Statue dedication
Mytilene	<i>IG</i> 12, supp. 50	Tiberius (?)	Undated	To Livia as Augusta Hera	Dedicatory inscription from gymnasium
Pergamum	<i>IGR</i> 4.180	Tiberius (?)	Undated	To Livia as Julia Augusta, the new Hera, Queen	
Thyateira Aphrodisias	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> 5.2.906 <i>AE</i> 1980, no. 877	Tiberius Caligula	Tiberian or later c. 37–41 CE	To the goddess Julia Augusta To Livia as Julia Augusta, daughter of Augustus, Hera	Statue dedication Statue base from a Julio-Claudian statue group

Achaea, Cyprus, Crete and Dalmatia

Livia as wife and mother

Location	Reference	Emperor	Date	Significant titles	Monument (if known)
Eleusis Salamis, Cyprus	<i>AE</i> 1971, no. 439 <i>IGR</i> 3. 984	Augustus Augustus	31–27 BCE c. 27 BCE–14 CE	Wife of Emperor Caesar Wife of Emperor Caesar Augustus	Statue base Statue dedication
Athens Salamis, Cyprus	<i>AE</i> 1938, no. 83 <i>AE</i> 1994, no. 1757, <i>CIL</i> 3.12105	Tiberius Tiberius	14–37 CE 14–37 CE	Mother of Tiberius Wife of the deified Augustus and mother of Tiberius	Statue dedication
Lebena, Crete	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> I, 137, no. 55.	Tiberius	14–37 CE	Mother of Tiberius	Statue base

Livia as divine or associated with key goddesses/personifications

Location	Reference	Emperor	Date	Significant titles	Monument (if known)
Palaeapaphus, Cyprus Athens	Bartman, <i>Portraits of Livia</i> , 201, no.16 <i>IG</i> 3.460	Augustus Tiberius?	After 15 BCE Tiberian or later	The goddess Livia, the new Aphrodite Livia as Augusta Hygeia/Salus	Statue base Statue base found east of the Propylaia
Athens Corinth	<i>IG</i> 2/3. 3239 <i>Corinth</i> 8.3 (1966), no. 55	Tiberius? Tiberius (or Claudian?)	Tiberian or later c. 25 CE or later	Livia as goddess Julia Augusta Livia as goddess (diva) Augusta	Reused statue base Building dedication?
Messenia	<i>AE</i> 1920, no. 1 <i>SEG</i> 41 (1991), no. 328	Tiberius Tiberius	21–23 CE 14 CE	Livia as goddess Julia Augusta Livia as goddess (θεα) and mother of Tiberius	
Mylai, Thessaly Zara, Dalmatia	<i>IG</i> 9.2.333 <i>ILS</i> 2.3089, <i>CIL</i> 3.2904	Tiberius? Augustus	Undated Undated	Livia as Julia Hera Augusta Livia as Juno	Statue base paired with one for Augustus as Jupiter

Thrace

Livia as divine

Location	Reference	Emperor	Date	Significant titles	Monument (if known)
Thasos	ILS 8784	Augustus	19–12 BCE	Livia as divine benefactress	Statue base of a group that also included Julia the Elder and Julia the Younger
	IGR 1.835b	Augustus	Undated	Livia as divine benefactress	

Egypt and Africa

Livia as divine or associated with key goddesses/personifications

Location	Reference	Emperor	Date	Significant titles	Monument (if known)
Athribis, Egypt	IGR 1.1150	Tiberius	23 CE	Refers to Livia as Julia Augusta, the new Isis, and mother of Tiberius	Dedicatory inscription for the imperial family
El Lehs, Africa	ILS 120, CIL 8.16456	Augustus	3 CE	Refers to Juno Livia or the Juno of Livia	Statue base
Lepcis Magna, Africa	Wood, <i>Imperial Women</i> , 121; <i>Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania</i> , no. 269.	Tiberius	35–36 CE	Livia as Ceres Augusta	Dedication regarding establishment of local cult for Livia

Nepet, Africa	<i>AE</i> 1948, no. 13	Claudius	45–46 CE	Livia as Diva Augusta	Statue base that was part of a nine-person Julio-Claudian family group of statues
	<i>CIL</i> 11.3196	Tiberius	18 CE	Livia as Augusta Ceres, mother of the fields	Statue base

Spain and Gaul

Livia as wife and mother

<i>Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Significant titles</i>	<i>Monument (if known)</i>
Narbo, Gallia Narbonensis	<i>ILS</i> 112	Augustus	12–13 CE	Wife of Augustus	Statue base
Anticaria, Baetica	<i>CIL</i> 2.2038	Tiberius	Undated	Livia as Genetrix Orbis	
Lugdunum, Gallia Lugdunensis	<i>AE</i> 1980, no. 638	Tiberius	Undated	Livia as Julia Augusta	
Vienne, Gallia Narbonensis	<i>CIL</i> 12.1845	Claudius	42–45 CE	To the deified Livia	

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